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ESSAYS

TO

PROVE THE VALIDITY

OF

ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS;

IN ANSWER TO THE MOST REVEREND PETER RICHARD KENRICK,
"R. C." ARCHBISHOP OF ST. LOUIS.

BY HUGH DAVEY EVANS. LL.D.

SECOND SERIES.

Revised and Corrected

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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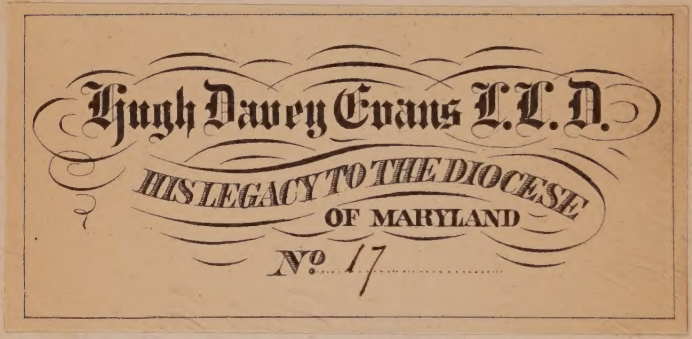

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM,

BISHOP OF MARYLAND,

These Essays

ARE, BY HIS PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE.

The Series of Essays, to which the reader's attention is now invited, is the second from the same pen, upon the same subject. They are by no means to be regarded as a second edition of the former series, but as a new and independent work. Archbishop Kenrick did not think proper to reply to the former series, otherwise than in a second edition of his book; on the title page of which, he professes to answer that, as well as some other works. Notwithstanding that profession, a very large portion of the Essays is entirely untouched. In some cases changes have been made, occasionally with a half acknowledgment of the fact, which amount to an admission of error in the first edition. In one case, and possibly in more, the admission is formally made. A great part of the second edition is, however, merely a reprint of the first, taking no notice of the answers given to passages quietly reprinted. The obvious inference is, that the author found it undesirable to mention the answers. But in other cases, some reply, of more or less value, is attempted.

The object of the present work is to meet those replies; but they are so mixed up with other matters, that it was found necessary to go again over much of the ground which had been gone over before. More attention has been paid, too, to subjects which were then passed lightly by. Of this sort is the question of the probability of the fact of Parker's consecration. An Essay has, also, been given to the strange mistake of

Archbishop Kenrick appears really to believe, that Champney had charged Jewell with evading certain questions put by Harding, who compelled him at last to speak out, by reiterated attacks. It has been shewn, that this is merely a delusion of the Archbishop's fancy, and never entered even into the fruitful imagination of Champney.

Two long notes have been added to two of the Essays. One on the important, but little understood, subject of the succession in the Irish Church. Another on the fancy, that presbyterial orders were ever allowed in the Church of England.

The writer now commits his work to the consideration of the reader, making but one request; that he will, if possible, carefully compare it with the book to which it is an answer. It is his belief, that such a course will, more effectually than any other, shew the extreme feebleness of the attack which has been made upon the orders of the Church.

It is proper, however, that he should express his gratitude for the kind assistance of friends, by which he has been enabled to make use of books not accessible in Baltimore. It is with unmixed pleasure, that he distinguishes among these, the names of the Rev. Arthur West Haddan, of Trinity College, Oxford, and the Rev. W. H. Odenheimer, of Philadelphia. But the pleasure is chastened by pain, when he adds those of the two ornaments of the Church, whose recent loss she is even now deploring,—Dr. Jarvis and Dr. Ogilby.

HUGH DAVEY EVANS.

May 21, 1851.

ESSAYS

TO PROVE THE VALIDITY OF

ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

Series II.

ESSAY I.

PRELIMINARIES.

Archbishop Kenrick has published a second edition of his work on Anglican Ordinations; it is in some respects a new work, while it retains nearly all the substance of the old. Our present object is to reply to this book, the title of which will be found at the foot of the page.[a] Before entering upon the general subject, however, we prefer speaking of two or three things, some of which are rather of a personal nature. We shall first speak of the least important. Archbishop Kenrick rightly conjectures that the "Essays on Anglican Ordinations," mentioned in his title page, and the article in "The True Catholic" reviewing Mr. Russell's pamphlet, also mentioned in that title page, are by the same author. It will be of course understood that the same person is the writer of the present series of Essays, and has been editor of "The True Catholic," exclusively, for the last five or six years, and from the

[a] The Validity of Anglican Ordinations and Anglican Claims to Apostolical Succession examined; by Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. Second edition revised and augmented; in which are inserted, Replies to "Essays on Anglican Ordinations," by a layman, and "Anglican Ordinations Valid," by John Fuller Russel, B. C. L., Incumbent of S. James' Enfield.

commencement, so far as relates to the subject of the present discussion. Now, as there must be mention made, in the course of the controversy, of this person, we are compelled to select some mode of designating him. We have to choose between our proper name, which would be awkward, the designation on the title page of the former "Essays," which would be affected, and the editorial first person plural, which our former "Essays" contracted in passing through the pages of "The True Catholic." We prefer the last.

We now proceed to say a few preliminary words about Archbishop Kenrick and his book, in connexion with ourselves. The tone of the work is decidedly querulous, full of complaints of harsh language used both by ourselves and Mr. Russel towards the Most Reverend author. With Mr. Russel, we have, of course, nothing to do. For ourselves, it is our desire to preserve as much of the *suaviter in modo* as is consistent with the *fortiter in re*. But there are some things, which can scarcely be spoken of in such language as one likes to use respecting a clergyman. When we found in the first edition of Archbishop Kenrick's work on "Anglican Ordinations," unfair reasoning, unfair statements of the position of an adversary, or quotations unfairly made, it was our duty to expose the fact. We generally endeavored to do this by producing the proof, without stating the charge; and we find that we have thereby incurred ourselves, the charge of insinuating matters which we would not assert. Insinuation is what we never meant to practise; we only avoided mentioning in strong terms, charges which we conceived that we had proved. Those charges moreover we desired to consider as rather against the book than against the author; the unfair statement of an adversary's view of a question, and the unfair or mutilated quotation, may have been owing, and we believe sometimes were owing, to the present writer's following in the track of predecessors, whose mistakes, or tricks, he had had no opportunity of correcting, and thus making his book the vehicle for the accu-

mulated blunders and misrepresentations of centuries. Even when these things are original, they are not always accompanied by the full moral guilt, which at first sight appears to belong to them. Things may be innocently misunderstood; we have had, in another arena, too much experience in controversy, not to know that an adversary's statement sometimes presents itself to the mind in a form more easily refutable, than that which he intended to give it, and which it would really present to an impartial observer. Even the *garbled* quotation, may have been garbled without the quoter's perceiving that he really altered the sense. We have desired then to avoid the imputation of improper motives to Archbishop Kenrick; but if an argument is misstated, or a quotation garbled, these are objective facts which it is necessary our readers should know, and which can only be communicated to them through the medium of language. Now words signifying things which it is disgraceful to do wilfully, will be considered objectionable, by those to whose actions they are applied. Still, it is impossible to avoid the use of such words, when they are warranted by actions; even should those actions have been done without wicked intentions.

Of Archbishop Kenrick himself, we have no personal knowledge; we know nothing of him, except from the two editions of his book, and have never heard his private character spoken of either by friend or foe. We are bound then to consider him as a fair specimen of a dignified and respectable Romish ecclesiastic; dignified we mean in station, respectable in character. It is perhaps proper that we should state what we should expect in such a specimen. We should expect then, a man well informed upon most subjects, learned in ecclesiastical knowledge, amiable in deportment, pious, according to the style of piety which prevails in his communion, honorable in his private dealings, correct, if not ascetic, in his mode of life; but we should not expect to find him scrupulous in matters which he might think affected the in-

terests of his Church. Perfectly satisfied that she is in the main right; he might regard all attacks upon her system as impious in themselves, and founded in falsehood if they were made to assume a specious appearance, he might believe that it was by sophistry; which, when he could not meet and fairly expose, he might evade by stratagems, not in themselves justifiable under other circumstances. In various ways many things have come to our knowledge which induce us to believe that this defect of character, and this error of moral reasoning, are to be found in many ecclesiastics who possess the more desirable qualities to which we have alluded, as entering into our notion of a respectable Romish clergyman. We are disposed to attribute this fact to the corrupt system of the Church of Rome; a system for which the present generation of clergymen are in no way responsible. We call it a corrupt system, and from the bottom of our hearts we believe it to be as corrupt as its warmest advocate believes that system to be, of which we are in some degree the unworthy defenders. But even when actions of the character of those of which we have spoken above, are committed wilfully, we incline at least to divide the blame between the actor and the system; and we therefore beg that whatever harsh expressions, we may have used, or may hereafter use, in the course of this discussion, with regard to any conduct whatever, may be considered with reference to the views here expressed. That we have spoken, and shall again be obliged to speak, of actions in terms which cannot be agreeable to the actors, is unfortunately true. It cannot be avoided; and we must speak plainly, as well as truly, to be understood. We have made this explanation here, once for all; because we cannot be perpetually drawn off from our argument to deal with the personal complaints of Archbishop Kenrick. It is no personal matter in which we are engaged, and while we sincerely desire to avoid all offence to persons, we must call things by their right names

This brings us to another matter not dissimilar in character to that last disposed of. Archbishop Kenrick complains that we have given to "Catholics" a name which they do not acknowledge, and which we "know they deem insulting." The name to which he alludes is "Romanists," a name which we have long given, and must persist in giving, to those who assume the name of "Catholics." We have no alternative; for we cannot conscientiously speak of them as they desire to be spoken of. They agree to consider all names as insulting but one; and the use of that one involves a concession of the whole controversy between us and them. All the questions between the two Churches spring out of, and terminate in, one, and that is; Is the Church of Rome the Catholic Church? The question is not; Is the Church of Rome a Catholic Church? that is, a particular Church, but is she the whole Catholic Church? Every one knows that she claims to be so, and that when she calls herself "the Catholic Church," or her children "the Catholics," or "Catholics," contradistinguishing them from others, she means this and nothing less. Catholic and heretic, Catholic and schismatic, are correlative terms. All who are not Catholics are either heretics or schismatics. Every one who calls another "Catholic," as a name of distinction from himself, admits himself to be a heretic or a schismatic. Now we do not believe ourselves to be either. We believe that we belong to a true branch of the Catholic Church; she has our allegiance, and she has our affections, and we cannot use the title of "Catholic as the peculiar and distinctive name of any other body. We cannot do it without violating truth, decency and self-respect. We have not the slightest objection to Romanists calling themselves and one another "Catholics." It implies a reproach upon us we know; but of that we do not conceive ourselves entitled to complain. They have a right to their own opinion of their own, and of our, ecclesiastical position, and we really respect them for boldly and openly avowing what that opinion

is. But when they require us to echo that opinion, by adopting the phraseology which they adopt to convey it, then it is they who become insulting. They call us "Protestants," which in their language means heretics; but they expect us to call them "Catholics," which in our language, as well as in their own, means orthodox, holders of the true faith. This we cannot do.

But why is Romanist an insulting name? It is an article of their creed that Rome is the mother and mistress of Churches. Their Bishops at their consecration take an oath of feudal obedience and fealty to the Bishop of Rome. Romanist means no more than an adherent to Rome, and they avow that they are such, glory in the fact, and anathematize all who are not. Why then is the name of Romanist insulting? Simply because it does not admit that they are "the Catholics," that the Church of Rome is "the Catholic Church." Now we use it because it is the least insulting name of which we can think; for "Catholic" is insulting to ourselves. Roman Catholic is absurd; because a man cannot be an American and a Roman at the same time. A man who lives at Rome may be a Roman Catholic, but one who lives in Baltimore, or St. Louis, cannot except the words be used figuratively for a Catholic of that particular stamp of Catholicity which prevails at Rome. But upon Romish principles, there cannot be two kinds of Catholicity, and a phrase which implies that there may is absurd. It is insulting too, for if we are "the Catholics" and they "the Roman Catholics" upon the old principle that *additio probat minoritatem*, we must be the best Catholics of the two. The truth we sincerely believe but the continual reiteration of which, could not, we should think, be pleasant to their ears. The truth is they prefer "Roman Catholic" to "Romanist," because "Catholic" can be slipped in as a convenient abridgment. We shall then, until we are prepared to stultify ourselves, and insult our own Church, by admitting that she is in heresy and schism, continue to call the ad-

herents of Rome "Romanists;" but without any design of insulting or offending them. If they take offence we cannot help it; we had rather offend them than God; and it must be offensive to Him for us to use phraseology which admits that we are out of the true Church, while we are determined not to change our position. Whenever we are convinced that "the Romanists" are "the Catholics," we shall apply for admission into their body; until then, we must decline calling them by a name which implies that we ought to unite with them.

Having thus disposed of these personal matters, we approach the work of Archbishop Kenrick, and naturally begin with his "Preface;" in which we find the following paragraphs.

"The first edition of the present work has called forth two writers who have undertaken its refutation.[1] The 'Essays on Anglican Ordination, by a Catholic Layman,' embrace the whole of the controversy connected with this subject. The 'Refutation' by Rev. John Fuller Russell, only professes to controvert some statements, in my former work, regarding the sentiments on Ordination entertained by the English Reformers, and the manner in which the denial of Anglican Orders was met by some of the first Anglican Bishops. The exceptions taken by these two writers to my arguments and statements, are examined in their proper places in the course of the following pages.

"In the first edition, I urged as a mark of authenticity, the words '*Per breve de privato sigillo*,' etc, which are found in some of the official documents connected with this controversy; and I rejected as unauthentic, or, at least, as of doubtful authenticity, the documents of the

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[1] "*Essays to prove the validity of Anglican Ordinations; in answer to the Right Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick, R. C. Bishop of St. Louis. By a Layman.* Baltimore: Joseph Robinson, 1844. In the preface, the name of the writer is given—Hugh Davey Evans.

"*Anglican Ordinations valid. A Refutation of certain statements in the second and third Chapters of 'The validity of Anglican Ordinations examined, by the Very Reverend Peter Richard Kenrick V G.' By John Fuller Russell, B. C. L., Incumbent of St. James's Enfield.* London: Masters, 1846."

class referred to, which have not these words appended to them. Mr. Evans denies that this distinction should be made; and he adduces the authority of Sir Francis Palgrave, keeper of the Rolls, in support of his assertion. As a contested principle cannot be employed in argumentation, I have consequently, forborn to urge the observation in the present edition, in which, while I have relied on no document that has not such a qualification connected with it, I have not, on this ground, rejected such as are brought forward by Anglican writers; although I have otherwise shown that they are of questionable character, I shall, however, observe, that as nothing can be more reasonable than to apply the rules of strict construction to official documents, nothing can be more, certain than that among the documents connected with this controversy there are several which cannot be so interpreted, without being found in contradiction with others equally entitled to our confidence. It is obvious, then, that if we have no clue to guide us in this labyrinth—nothing to distinguish between genuine and spurious documents, or if we cannot say that the language of such documents must be strictly interpreted, we can derive no aid whatsoever from them, in this or any other discussion, in which they may be employed.

"Whoever compares the present edition with that which preceded it, will perceive that, while the positions of the former are maintained in this volume, the arguments before employed have been considerably developed, and, in some instances, modified. I have omitted the chapter in which I stated what were the principles which guided me in this examination; because these principles are the same in every discussion, where official documents are adduced as evidence, or where facts, which have long been asserted and denied, are to be investigated. I have changed also the arrangement of the matters of which I had to treat; and have examined the questions of Parker's Lambeth consecration, Barlow's consecration, and the validity of King Edward's Ordinal, without any reference to the consecration said to have taken place at Cheapside. In a separate chapter, I have given a summary of the arguments advanced by those who affirm and by those who deny this occurrence."

In the second paragraph above copied, we find a principle laid down in which we can by no means concur. If "a contested principle cannot be employed in argumentation," there can be no argumentation at all. A man has nothing

to do but to deny every principle which his adversary asserts, and he silences him. Such a course would be very similar to that employed by the Romanists, upon this very question, when they denied the authenticity of every document produced against them. But their antagonists did not adopt Archbishop Kenrick's idea; they proceeded to prove the authenticity of their documents, and then to employ them in argumentation. A principle which a controversialist denies, has of course no power of convincing him; but if it is sustained to the satisfaction of those whom it is the design of his opponent to convince, it is just as available as if it were not disputed. But Archbishop Kenrick's notable discovery about the clause *per breve de privato sigillo*, can hardly be called a contested principle. It is a notion which nobody has ever entertained but himself, which has been shewn to be founded in a mere mistake, in ignorance of a profession to which he was not bred, not only by the authority of Sir Francis Palgrave, although that would be abundant, but by that of English Law-books which were standard authorities before any of the present generation were born, and it is a notion which he did not attempt to sustain by the slightest argument or authority.

As to applying "the rules of strict construction to official documents," we discover by the context of this preface, connected with the practice of the Archbishop in the former edition of his work, that he means a hypercritical construction, adopted for the purpose of making those documents to which it is applied, contradict other documents, which it is designed to invalidate. Now we maintain that nothing can be more unreasonable than this. It is a well established rule of construction, that every instrument should be so construed *ut res valeat magis quam pereat*. This seems to us the reasonable rule, as it is the universal practice of courts of justice, and of fair critics, to construe every writing, so as to make it consistent with itself, and with other writings proceeding from the same source.

Nor is that true which is insinuated by the words, "if we have no clue to guide us in the labyrinth." In the case for which this rule was invented, there are one or two documents, which may, by what our author calls "strict construction," be made to bear a sense which conflicts with the general current of the documents of the period. Our author having adopted the strict construction, and thus brought about the contradiction, supposes that the minority documents thus construed express the truth, or more accurately what their framers designed should be believed, and then draws the inference that the majority of the documents have been forged. A more reasonable inference would be that the forgery was of the minority of the documents.—But there is really no necessity for resorting to either supposition; it is much more probable that the clerks of the chancery bestowed upon Parker, by anticipation, titles to which he had as yet no right, than that even one document, not to speak of a long series of documents, was forged.—What Archbishop Kenrick means by "strict construction," is inferring from the archiepiscopal titles bestowed upon Parker, by anticipation, that he was, or was designed to be treated as, already an archbishop, when the documents which prove the exact time and place of his consecration being inconsistent with that inference, they are pronounced to be forged. But if forgery is to be inferred, surely it ought to be of the documents in which the mistake occurred; especially as they are only one or two, while the others are many.

In the third paragraph of our quotation, we find the announcement that the chapter in which were stated the principles which guided the author in his examination is omitted. The reason being, that "these principles are the same in every discussion, where official documents are adduced as evidence, or where facts which have been long asserted and denied are to be investigated." The principles upon which all such inquiries are conducted should be, the

same undoubtedly; but we conceive ourselves to have shewn in a former essay, that those laid down in the omitted chapter were novel, and framed expressly for the purpose of giving to our author an advantage in the discussion. In fact they were not, in the former edition of the work under our examination, by any means adhered to. They were applied to discredit Protestant authorities; but Romanist writers, whom "evenhanded Justice," if she had condescended to use the "principles" at all, would have equally discredited by their authority, were never subjected to any such test. But it is sufficient for our purpose, that Archbishop Kenrick makes no attempt to reply to the argument which we offered against his "principles." They are certainly at least "contested principles;" he does not attempt to maintain them, and yet he intimates that he shall continue to employ them in argumentation. How he reconciles this to the doctrine of the second paragraph of our quotation we do not know. But by not attempting to maintain principles openly impugned, he in fact admits, that they are untenable. We are therefore not called upon to speak further upon this part of the subject.

We learn also from this same third paragraph that our author has now "examined the questions of Parker's Lambeth consecration, Barlow's consecration, and the validity of King Edward's ordinal, without any reference to the consecration said to have taken place at Cheapside." In so doing he has done well; the real questions of history are only two, Parker's consecration and Barlow's consecration. We do not at all mean that the two questions are of equal importance; but they are both historical questions, and the only historical questions at issue. The validity of the English ordinal is a theological question, and of course independent of all historical questions; equally independent of Parker's consecration, and of the Nag's head fable. The latter is really of as little historical importance as possible; while it is absurd upon its face. If Parker were consecrated at Lambeth, he was a bishop, whether the profane farce in Cheapside were

enacted or not. That becomes then a mere question of personal character; if true, destroying the spiritual reputation of those who participated in it; if false, that of those who invented it. It is remarkable that Archbishop Kenrick nowhere pretends to believe this tale. He treats it as a matter in which the reputation of the Romanist writers is concerned, and maintains that they did not believe it without some evidence; but he cautiously abstains from saying that the evidence has convinced his own mind. We have no shadow of doubt that he disbelieves the whole story as much as we do. But whether that be so or not, it is, if Parker was really consecrated at Lambeth, a thing of no importance so far as the validity of Anglican Ordinations is concerned. For this reason we began our discussion of the subject by proving the fact of Parker's consecration. Respect for the character of Parker's consecrators, respect for the character of Parker and the other Anglican bishops of the period, induced us afterwards to bestow some time in disproving this absurd calumny. But the substance of our work, so far as it is historical, is really contained in the third essay, in which we have proved Parker's consecration, and in the sixth, seventh and eighth, in which we have maintained, as we believe successfully, the consecration of Bishop Barlow; a question more difficult to examine, because resting on more complicated evidence. The theological question of the validity of the ordinal, we have already said is one of a totally different and independent character.

This brings us fairly to the first chapter of the Archbishop's book, which is entitled the "State of the Question." The first paragraph states the question truly and with great force and clearness, with the exceptions we are about to mention. We gladly adopt it as our statement of the question, subject to those exceptions. They are two in number. The first is the assumption that Barlow's consecration is vital to the controversy. That it is a question which it is

desirable should be settled we agree; and we have taken some pains, and shall take more, to establish it. Upon the view taken by Archbishop Kenrick, it is certainly vital; and it is therefore perfectly fair for him to state the case as he does. But as we entertain a view of the subject, different in several particular, we cannot, although we are willing to adopt his state of the question, as a basis upon which to discuss it, so adopt it, as to preclude us from contending that the consecration, or absence of consecration, of Bishop Barlow is not vital to the controversy. We shall do this upon two grounds; one, as the French say, of right, the other of fact. On the first we shall contend, and that on very high Romish authority, that even although Barlow had not been consecrated, yet that Parker, having been consecrated by a sufficient number of bishops independent of him, was sufficiently consecrated, even although he be considered as the presiding bishop upon the occasion. And this is more especially true in this case, because it is an established fact that all the four bishops, who participated in the consecration of Parker, uttered the words of consecration; so that no one was, more than another, what the Roman Pontifical calls, "the consecrator." The other exception relates to the last member of the last sentence, from the semi-colon. We confess that we do not at all understand, what our author means, by endeavoring, in treating of a doctrinal question, "to keep within the bounds of what can be maintained by testimony." The ordinal by which Parker was consecrated is extant; Archbishop Kenrick has doubtless a copy of it in his library, as we have in ours, and many others are in existence; there never has been, that we have heard of, any serious dispute about its words, either in its rubrics or its prayers. It is a document in our hands, about which there is no dispute, except as to its effect. Now whether it is capable of conveying the priestly and Episcopal offices, is to be ascertained by settling what is requisite to produce that effect in scholastic language by ascertaining the matter and form of ordination,

and then examining the extant document, to see whether it contains the requisite form, and prescribes the requisite matter. In all this we see no room for testimony; and the introduction of the idea is only the first, among many evidences of a peculiarity in the mind of Archbishop Kenrick, which renders him unable to grasp firmly any question. The true point in dispute, he will perceive and state, as he has done in this paragraph, fairly and clearly; but in an instant afterwards he confuses it with something else, about which he writes until the whole matter becomes mystified in the mind of the reader; who no longer perceives the true question. This infirmity of Archbishop Kenrick, is very remarkable, throughout both editions of his book. Were he on the right side it would be very inconvenient for him; as it is, the darker the question can be made, the better for the champion of Romanism. But we detain the reader too long from the promised paragraph.

"In the following pages I propose to examine the question, whether the ordinations of the Church by law established in England be valid, and, consequently, whether we are to regard as validly ordained ministers of the Gospel those who have received orders in that Church, or who, like the ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, derive their orders from it. This is a question of fact resolvable into two other facts, first, whether Mathew Parker, the first bishop of the Church of England, received consecration from a bishop who himself had been duly consecrated; and second, whether the form of such consecration was a valid form. The first of these two facts is to be established or impugned like any other event, purely by historic evidence; and although the second requires a reference to a doctrinal discussion, I shall endeavour, in treating of it, to keep within the bounds of what can be maintained by testimony."—*p.* 9.

Now this so far as it is a statement of the question at all, is, as we have already said, a fair statement, upon our author's view, and is in substance the same which he made in the former edition, which we adopted in our reply to that

book, and which is reiterated in this edition a few pages further on.

"With regard to this important fact, there are three questions, each of which is matter of controversy, and, yet, all of which must be satisfactorily answered in the affirmative, before those who trace their orders to Mathew Parker, can conclude that they are validly ordained. First. Was Parker really consecrated by Barlow, in the manner described? Second. Was Barlow himself consecrated? Third. Was King Edward's form a valid form?" —*p.* 17.

Now it appears that there are three questions to be answered; what is the true answer to them, is the matter in debate between the Archbishop and ourselves. The first is; was Parker really consecrated in the manner described? This is an historical question, depending upon evidence; and the proper mode of settling it is to produce the evidence. Yet Archbishop Kenrick, before commencing this process, attempts to raise a prejudice against the English Church in various ways, and first by bringing up the question of mission, or the "lawful exercise of" the "functions" of the ministry. This is the more remarkable, as in the paragraph immediately following the last which we have transcribed, he very well points out the difference between two things, which he, like every other theologian, knows to be very different. The paragraph is as follows,

"If these questions can be affirmatively answered, then the ordinations of the English Church are valid; its bishops have the same episcopal character as the Catholic bishops; its ministers are priests, equally as those who minister at Catholic altars; in a word, the ecclesiastical hierarchy has been preserved in the English Church, although, being separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, they are withered branches, through which the vivifying sap of apostolical jurisdiction does not circulate."—*p.* 17.

We have at present nothing to do with the Archbishop's assumption, that the English Church, or its hierarchy "are withered branches through which the vivifying sap of Apostolical jurisdiction, does not circulate." Of course we differ from him altogether upon the subject; but it was not proper

to discuss it in that place, and we find no fault with him for entering his protest against the inference, that the question of mission or jurisdiction, was identical with that of orders. On the contrary, we are glad to have his admission that they are distinct; which admission is made stronger by his protest. Every theologian knows that the fact of Parker's consecration, is not conclusive as to his mission or jurisdiction, and moreover that it is the doctrine of the Church of Rome, that all mission or jurisdiction, is derived from the Pope, so far, at least, that it cannot exist without his confirmation and consent; which nobody pretends that Parker had. But that has nothing to do with the historical fact, that Parker was "consecrated in the manner described." That is the question at present before us; and we object to its being mixed up with the question of mission or jurisdiction, which will ultimately resolve itself into the question of the Pope's supremacy. With this last question we have no intention of meddling; we shall leave it in abler hands than ours. It is under discussion between Bishop Kenrick, the Archbishop's brother, and Dr. Jarvis. This is not the only place in which Archbishop Kenrick states correctly the difference between orders and mission. In a subsequent part of his book he adopts, or nearly so, the distinction which we had introduced from Protestant writers into our former essay on the subject; and while he maintains, as he must until he changes his communion, that we are mistaken in our doctrine of mission, so far as relates to its source, he admits fully the distinction which we had taken between it and orders.

In a former part of this first chapter he takes a very just distinction between a *valid* ordination and a *lawful* ordination. We shall give the paragraph.

"It is here necessary to point out the distinction between a *valid* and a *lawful* ordination. The one is an act, to which nothing is wanting that is necessary to give it effect; whereas, the other is one, not only complete in itself, but conformable to the laws that have been made to direct and govern the power that produced it. If a clergyman who has been suspended from the exercise of the ministry, continues to perform

official acts, these would, in most instances, be *valid*. They would not, indeed, be *lawful* acts, but on the contrary, a sacrilegious abuse of the powers of the ministry. Were a Catholic bishop to apostatize from the faith, and confer orders on his partizans in error, his apostasy or heresy, would not invalidate the act, although it would render it *unlawful*. And hence the Catholic Church regards all ordinations that are made in the sects separated from her communion, as *unlawful;* but she considers only those *invalid*, in which either the ordaining prelate was not himself consecrated, or in which he employed a defective form, or in which he had no intention of performing a sacred rite."—*p.* 10.

Now Parker's consecration may have been unlawful and yet, according to the true doctrine of the last paragraph, valid. In the estimation of every Romanist, it was unlawful; because it was made in what the Church of Rome chooses to call a sect; and which although we maintain it to be a Church, we cannot avoid agreeing with her is "separated from her communion." It was unlawful in their estimation, also, because it was done without the consent of the Pope, and because Parker was an heretic. Yet in the opinion of Protestants these objections are of no value; of the two first they would deny the doctrine, the last they would say was a mixed question involving a question of fact with a question of doctrine. The question of fact, a somewhat extensive and complicated one, is; What were Parker's opinions? Those opinions ascertained, as we suppose they may be, for they are *prima facie* in the Prayer Book and Articles, another question, yet more extensive, arises; Are they heretical? Now here are three doctrinal questions; which must be settled before we come at the legality of Parker's consecration and consequently at his mission or jurisdiction. But it is manifest that these doctrinal questions have nothing to do with the simple historical question; Was he consecrated at Lambeth on the 17th December 1559, in the manner, and by the persons, described in the official record of his consecration?

We were about to say that we were surprised after the

strong and clear statements of the question, and of the distinction between orders and mission, which we have copied, to find the two things confused together. But it would not be strictly true to say we were surprised; perhaps we might have been, had the author been any other than Archbishop Kenrick; but in him it is only another manifestation of the peculiarity of his intellect to which we have already adverted.

Our readers, if they will note the pages from which the preceding quotations have been made, will perceive that there are two pairs of them; each pair nearly connected in place within itself, and separated from the other by several pages. The two pairs of quotations do in effect repeat each other, and each fully states the question, fairly, clearly, briefly, subject to the remarks we have made. But the interval between them, is filled with an attempt to shew that the Church of England has no mission; because the Reformation was the act of the civil government, and for the purpose of proving that fact, several writers are cited to shew that the Church of England was made so destitute of clergy by the Reformation, that all sorts of ignorant people were ordained from necessity. Of course the effect of all this, whether designed or not, is to excite and foster prejudices. The passages which are carefully raked together, are all declamatory in their tone and undoubtedly exaggerate, as all declamatory writings do, the evils of which they complain. When we come to figures, we find the defection of the clergy to Rome by no means so formidable, as to leave the Church in the hands of the miserable rabble, who Archbishop Kenrick would persuade us were the whole of her clergy. We shall find that although a very considerable number of dignified clergymen adhered to the Romish obedience, they by no means included all the dignified clergy of England; and of the parochial clergy there were but eighty recusants; while there were a number of clergymen who

The truth of this matter is doubtless that which is told by Camden, in the following passage: "The Parliament being dissolved," says he,

were either in exile, or in prison, or concealed, who were ready to supply the wants of the Church. The number of

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"by authority of the same, the Liturgy was forthwith brought into the churches in the vulgar tongue, images were removed without tumult, the oath of supremacy offered to the popish bishops, and others of the ecclesiastical profession, which most of them had sworn unto, in the reign of Henry the eighth. As many as refused to swear were turned out of their livings, dignities and bishoprics; and those (as themselves have written) in the whole realm, which reckoneth more than 9,400 ecclesiastical promotions, not above 80 parsons of churches, 50 prebendaries, 15 presidents of colleges, 12 archdeacons, as many deans, 6 abbotts and abbesses, and fourteen bishops, being all which sate, saving only Anthony, Bishop of Llandaff, the calamity of his see." Camden then proceeds to a list of the deprived bishops, but it appears that the whole number of the deprived clergy, who adhered to the pope and whose desertion according to Archbishop Kenrick, left the Church of England so destitute of learning, was only one hundred and seven, females included. The passage will be found in Camden's History of Elizabeth, under the year 1559, at page 23, of the edition before us, which purports to be the third, folio, London, 1675. The particular copy belongs to the Library Company of Baltimore. It is remarkable that Archbishop Kenrick himself afterwards quotes the expression of the writer that the Bishop of Llandaff was "the calamity of his see."

This passage is immediately followed by a list of the deprived bishops, honorable mention is then made of Abbot Feckenham, and some notice taken of other eminent recusants. Then follows a list of the Protestant bishops, in which is included a brief account of the consecration of Parker, at Lambeth, which we mentioned in our former Essays. After concluding the list the writer goes on:

"What manner of men these," the Protestant bishops, "were, and what they suffered, being exiles in Germany in the reign of Queen Mary, or else hiding themselves in England, I leave to the Ecclesiastical historian to relate.

"But whereas learned men were more rare to be found, many mechanical men of the shop, and no less unlearned than the popish priests, attained to Ecclesiastical dignities, prebends, and rich benefices. Nevertheless most of the popish priests thought it more behoveful for themselves and their religion, to swear obedience to their prince, renouncing

clergy deprived by Queen Mary was three thousand. There was undoubtedly some cause to lament the state of learning

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the Pope's authority, were it for nothing else but they might shut the Protestants out of their churches, and withal be able to relieve the wants of those of their own side which were thrust out. And this they thought to be pious wisdom and in a manner meritorious; and therefore they hoped that the Bishop of Rome would, according to his authority, dispense with their oath." pp. 30, 31.

It was undoubtedly an abuse that "mechanical men out of the shop, and no less unlearned than the popish priests," should attain "to ecclesiastical dignities, prebends, and rich benefices." It was an abuse, and one very likely to excite the indignation of learned clergymen, who when writing, in a declamatory style, against it, would naturally exaggerate it. They would be joined in this by the Romanists, who were ready to make the most of any abuse in the Church of England, and by the Puritans, who placed all religion in preaching, and considered a clergyman not learned, up to their standard, and especially if not of their opinion, no clergyman at all, and who, moreover, would think that nobody could preach at Oxford except Sampson and Humphries, two eminent puritans, if nobody else preached Puritan doctrines there. Yet we must be allowed to believe that learning was not in a low state in the university which produced Hooker, and many other of the great Anglican divines of the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and the whole of that of James I. when the higher clergy were, as a body of men, more learned than they have ever been since. It is true that Heylin admits that there was too much truth in the declamation which Archbishop Kenrick quotes; but if that truth did not go beyond Camden's statements, it is certain that Heylin would have thought it too much; moreover, he lived too late to know any thing about the matter.

Among the authorities which the Archbishop cites, for the great ignorance of the Anglican clergy at the Reformation, is "one John Rastell a fugitive," Romish "priest." An address of this man, our author says, was inserted by Heylin, in the conclusion of his history, but he neglects to say which of his histories; "'in this address says he,' Heylin, 'I conceive that he hath faithfully delivered too many sad truths in these particulars.'" "Among these sad truths," continues Archbishop Kenrick, "is the following description of the sort of people who were intruded into the places of the Catholic," Romanist, "clergy in England. Whereas the Church of God so well ordered with excellent men of learning and god-

both in the universities and in the Church at large; but things were not so bad as one would imagine, who took Arch-

liness, is constrained to suffer coblers, weavers, tinkers, tanners, card-makers, tapsters, fidlers, gaolers, and others of the like professions, not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into pulpits and to keep the place of priests and ministers, &c.," "or that any bag-pipers, horse-coursers, gaolers, ale-tapsters, were admitted then into the clergy, without good and long trial of their conversation." We have a great curiosity to see the passage in which Dr. Heylin admitted the truth of these terrible charges. For although there can be no doubt that Mr. Rastell told this terrible story in his address to Bishop Jewell, we confess we do doubt whether Dr. Heylin's expression about sad truths was intended to sanction it all. We should also like to see Mr. Rastell's address itself; because the extracts from it, with which we have been favored, do not seem to cohere and hang together, as well as might be desired. The reference in the text is, as we have said, to Heylin's history without saying of what, and in the foot note, "P. 162, Heylin 174–176." We concluded that Heylin's History of the Reformation was the book meant, and were the more assured of the fact, by readily finding in it a passage, referred to by our author in the same manner at page 57 of his book, on the very page referred to. But either owing to the book not being the right one, or our not getting the right edition, our curiosity has not been gratified. We have not been able to discover either Mr. Rastell's address, or Dr. Heylin's mention of it. We find, however, in the book referred to, a passage which seems to suppose that whatever Mr. Rastell's statements might have been, and we have no doubt they were coloured enough, Dr. Heylin could not have intended to certify them to any thing like the extent which Archbishop Kenrick supposes. The passage is the following:—

"The bishops being thus put to it, the oath is tendered next to the deans and dignitaries, and by degrees also to the rural clergy; refused by some, and took by others, as it seemed most agreeable to their consciences or particular ends. For the refusal whereof, or otherwise for not conforming to the public Liturgy, I find no more to have been deprived of their preferments, than fourteen bishops, six abbots, priors and governors of religious orders, twelve deans and as many archdeacons, fifteen presidents or masters of colleges, fifty prebendaries of Cathedral churches, and about eighty parsons or vicars. The whole number not

bishop Kenrick's selections literally. Moreover, those whom he styles the governing clergy of the Church were usurpers;

amounting to 200 men, which in a realm consisting of nine thousand parishes and twenty-six cathedral Churches could be no great matter. But then we are to know withal that many who were cordially affected to the Church of Rome, dispensed themselves in these outward conformities, which some of them are said to do upon a hope of seeing the like revolution by the death of the Queen, as had before happened by the death of King Edward, and otherwise that they might be able to relieve their brethren who could not so readily frame themselves to a present compliance. Which notwithstanding so it was, that partly by the deprivation of those few persons, but principally by the death of so many in the last years sickness, there was not a sufficient number of learned men to supply the cures, which filled the Church with an ignorant and illiterate clergy, whose learning went no further than the Liturgy or the Book of Homilies, but otherwise conformable (which was no small felicity) to the rules of the Church. And on the other side many were raised to great preferments, who having spent their time of exile in such foreign churches as followed the platform of Geneva, returned so disaffected to Episcopal government, and unto the rites and ceremonies by law established, as not long after filled the Church with most sad disorders; not only to the breaking of the bond of peace, but to the grieving and extinguishing of the spirit of Unity. Private opinions not regarded, nothing was more considered in them than their zeal against Popery, and their abilities in learning to confirm that zeal. On which account we find the Queen's Professor in Oxford to pass among the nonconformists, though somewhat more moderate than the rest, and Cartwright the Lady Margaret's, in Cambridge, to prove an unextinguished firebrand to the Church of England; Whittington (Whittingham) the chief magistrate of the Frankfort schismatics, preferred into the Deanry of Durham, from thence encouraging Knox and Goodman in setting up Presbytery and sedition in the Kirk of Scotland; Sampson advanced into the Deanry of Christ's Church, and within few years turned out for an incorrigible non-conformist. Hardiman one of the first twelve prebendaries of the Church of Westminster, deprived soon for throwing down the altar, and defacing the vestments of the Church." *Ecclesia Restaurata. The History of the Reformation of England, Containing the Beginning, Progress and Successes of it; the Counsels by which it was conducted; the Rules of Piety and Prudence upon*

who had been thrust into office by the power of Queen Mary and the authority of the Pope. This is an historical fact, into which we cannot here enter; our object being only to obviate the prejudice which our author desires to raise against the mission of the Church of England; which in his mind is somehow mixed up with the historical question of the consecration of Parker. But the Church had acted in the reign of Edward VI. The papal supremacy had been repudiated, with the consent of the clergy, under Henry VIII. Mary restored it, and deprived the clergy who did not concur with her in so doing. The proceedings in the reign of Edward VI. were in our author's judgment void; because the papal supremacy is in his opinion of Divine right, and for the same reason, the doings of Mary were all right. But we suppose he will admit that the ground taken by the advocates of the English Church is just the reverse; that they assert that the Reformation was made in the reign of Edward VI. by those whom they maintain to be the lawful and canonical clergy of the Church of England, and was overthrown

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which it was founded, the several steps by which it was promoted or retarded in the change of Times; from the first Preparations to it by King Henry the VIII. until the Legal Settling and Establishment of it under Queen Elizabeth. Together with the Intermixture of such Civil Actions and Affairs of State, as either were coincident with it, or related to it. By Peter Heylin, D. D. Folio, London 1674, *p.* 287.

Our readers will see in this passage abundance of "sad truths," which, if stated by Mr. Rastell, may well be those which Dr. Heylin acknowledged, but they still fall far short of his tale about persons of all sorts of loose professions becoming priests and preachers. Moreover, our readers will observe that although the learned Puritans at first obtained preferment, there was strength in the Church to expel them; which goes to shew that the prevalent opinions of the clergy were not so low as Archbishop Kenrick supposes them to have been. Nor could the clergy of Elizabeth's time have been, as a body, much more ignorant than those of Mary, seeing that with the exception of less than two hundred, besides the death vacancies, they were the same men.

in Mary's time without their consent. A set of bishops and "governing clergy," being then introduced, who were in their estimation usurpers. Now the question as to who were the lawful and canonical clergy of the Church of England in those days, resolves itself into the question whether the pope had any rightful authority in England; and that again into the question whether the pope be, *jure divino*, the head of the Church and the essential centre of unity. The affirmative of these last questions the Archbishop assumes throughout his book. But as he nowhere attempts to prove it, and we are answering him, not his brother, we are not bound to enter into the question, further than is necessary to point out the fact, that much of his argument rests upon that assumption.

So again, immediately after our second pair of quotations, the subject of mission or jurisdiction is resumed. We are first very truly told, that: "when a clergyman is silenced by his bishop, no orthodox Churchman attaches any importance to his ministrations, because he has ceased to derive the *right* of administering, from the source in which ecclesiastical authority is presumed to dwell." A case is then supposed of a "bishop or many bishops, who rebel against the Church of which they were ordained ministers and are therefore deprived by the proper authority of the *right* to continue to act as ministers of such Church." And we are again rightly told, that "there is no difference between their case and that of an individual clergyman silenced for error and misconduct." This is all very true; and if the supremacy of the pope is taken for granted, as of course it is in our author's mind, it is applicable to the case before us, so far as the question of mission is concerned. But it has nothing to do with the fact of Parker's consecration, or with the question of orders, which our author has told us may be given by an unlawful and schismatic ordination. We shall in due time, should God permit, meet our author on

the question of mission, but not here or now, when we are only seeking a statement of the question.

We are next told that, when there is no identity of religious principle, or uniformity of faith, there cannot be any thing like succession; which supposes a moral identity not only in character but principle, as also the continued transmission of the same sacred deposit of doctrine from each pastor to his successor, and not the mere fact that one bishop succeeds another in the same see, without any regard to the doctrines professed by each. "To illustrate this position by the case in question;" continues our author, "it is not denied that Cardinal Pole was followed in the see of Canterbury by Matthew Parker, but it is equally undeniable that Pole would have considered Parker a heretic, and that Parker regarded Pole as an idolater. To suppose then that they were both links of the same chain—both equally capable of transmitting the Apostolical succession—is to confound all notions, and contradict the most universally received maxims."—p. 18. Perhaps so; but suppose both were mistaken, and neither pretended to infallibility; suppose Pole was not an idolater, and Parker not an heretic; they might, we suppose notwithstanding their errors, have both been links in the chain, both have mission. For this whole question, the reader must recollect, is about mission, not about orders. Suppose Pole were right and Parker were an heretic, then Parker had no mission, but he might have had orders; and suppose Parker were right and Pole were an idolater, then the consequence would be that Pole had no mission; although nobody doubts that he had orders. The position of the English Church is, that Parker did receive, did hold, did transmit "the sacred deposit of doctrine." That deposit is contained in the Apostles' and Nicene creeds. Pole undoubtedly held a great deal more; but it cannot be necessary that a bishop should hold all the errors of all his predecessors, in order to give him mission, and a place in the succession. Pole's holding too much, may, or may not, have vitiated his

mission; he may, or may not, have been the legitimate successor of Augustine—the first Archbishop of Canterbury. But he was certainly not the archetype to whom all succeeding Archbishops must conform. That place does not even belong to Augustine himself; if he erred in any thing his successors were not bound to follow his error. The question between Pole and Parker, will then resolve itself into the question; which held the truth? Is any other truth necessary to Church communion than those contained in the creeds? All these questions the Archbishop will solve by the aid of the supremacy of the pope; yet on that subject it is notorious that Pole did not agree with Augustine, unless the latter disagreed with his friend and former bishop, the canonised Pope Gregory the Great. If Pole's difference with Augustine upon this important point, did not prevent him from being his genuine successor; it is a little strange if Parker's agreement with him, should avoid his succession. So in the matter of transubstantiation. Augustine lived before that doctrine was developed, and held the same views about it which Parker held; Pole differed from both. Whether Parker then were the legitimate successor of Pole or not, which is a matter of very little consequence, he was nearer to Augustine in doctrine than Pole was, therefore, according to Archbishop Kenrick's principle, more likely to be his true successor. But, as we have so often repeated, this has nothing to do with the fact of his consecration; that fact settled, we shall properly come to the question of its validity, in conveying first orders, then mission or jurisdiction.

ESSAY II.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. WRITS.

Among the questions to be discussed between Archbishop Kenrick and ourselves, the first in natural order is that of the consecration of Archbishop Parker. Now this is a fact to be proved like other facts; and the burden of proving it lies on those who affirm it. When it is proved, it is entitled to consideration in the discussion of several of the other questions, and of itself puts an end to the ridiculous tale of the Nag's head consecration. For this reason, we commenced our former series of essays by exhibiting and examining the proof of the fact; and for the same reason, we now proceed to examine the fourth chapter of Archbishop Kenrick's second edition, in which he considers that question, before meddling with the second or third. Our author asserts that the document which gives an account of the consecration of Parker is forged. He divides the proofs, which he supposes himself able to offer in support of his allegation, into three heads. The first of these he styles Royal commissions, and under that head he considers the authenticity of several documents under the great seal of England, which relate to this affair. He enumerates, as we and other writers have also done, ten of these documents; of which he pronounces three genuine, and the other seven forged. It appears clearly enough that the rule by which he made his selection, was, that he considered those genuine which he could use as arguments for the forgery of the others; of which others Dr. Lingard, the Romish historian, has said, as we learn from Archbishop Kenrick himself, speaking of them in connexion with some other undisputed

facts: "In my judgment, the comparison of these facts, with those that preceded the 17th of December, forms so strong a case, that I should not hesitate to pronounce in favor of the consecration if even all direct and positive evidence had perished." *Lingard, apud Kenrick p.* 107. Archbishop Kenrick dissents from Dr. Lingard's opinion, and undertakes to give his reasons for believing that seven of the ten commissions are forged. These reasons are for the most part derived from the other three; which he pronounces authentic. He has been compelled to abandon the imaginary test, by which in his first edition he undertook to try the genuineness of these documents, and they now all stand on the same footing. There is no longer any reason for believing that one is forged more than another, and supposing the alleged discrepancies among them to prove that any of them are forgeries, common sense would teach us to believe that it must be the three and not the seven.

But it is in fact impossible that any of them should be forged. They are not loose documents floating about the world, unconnected with each other and with any thing else. They have all been printed by Rymer, and they are all to be found in the record office called "the Rolls." Now if any of them are forged, how did they get there? There they are, standing in their proper places, in a consecutive series of records. How did they get there? It is not pretended that they were forged at the time of their dates. That would be absurd; for it would then have been as easy to make them as to forge them. How then at any subsequent period were seven documents, six of which bear date on the same day, inserted in a consecutive series of records, without disturbing the order of the whole, and giving evidence of the fraud upon the face of the records themselves.

The most important document of the series is the commission of the 6th December, 1559, by virtue of which the consecration took place. It is recited in the record of the

consecration in Parker's Register, and could it be shewn to be forged, it would seem to follow that the Register was forged, also. This then is the great point of attack on the occasion. He assigns several reasons for believing it forged, omitting several others which he formerly used, but which have been shewn to be untenable. The first, which, however is not directly insisted on, is a former Commission for the same object, dated September 9, 1559. The second, is an inconsistency between the commission of 6th December and another document dated 20th October. The third, is a similar inconsistency with a document of the 28th November. These three being the documents which he has selected as indisputably genuine. The fourth, rests on what he calls the supplying clause, contained in the document itself.

The commission of the 9th September failed of its object. Nobody pretends that it was ever executed. Every body knows that several of the bishops named in it refused to act. This was the case with at least three. Archbishop Kenrick thinks four, and it is quite probable he is right. There then remained only two, or at most three, to act. Four were required by law, three by the canons of the Church. It seems not hard to see why the commission was not executed, and to us it seems the most natural thing in the world that, under such circumstances, a new commission should have been issued. Nay, Archbishop Kenrick is of the same opinion; for, speaking of the difficulties which have been assigned as the reasons for the non-execution of the commission of the 9th September, he says;—"Nothing can be more unlikely to suppose than that a difficulty of this kind, could have been unnecessarily caused, or if by mistake caused would not at once have been removed by the issuing of a new commission." Now this is the very thing which was done; a new commission was issued, containing the names of all the bishops who had not refused to act, of one who is supposed to have actually refused, and of several others, to supply the place of those omitted, and containing

a clause, perhaps inserted on account of the probability or certainty, that Kitchen would refuse to act, authorizing any four of them to act without the others. This seems to us to be the very course which our author suggests.

But the time was long. The interval between the dates of the two documents is just eighty seven days. It seems an odd ground for supposing a public document, not otherwise suspicious, to be forged, that its date is a few weeks later than we should have anticipated. We do not know the precise periods at which the recusant bishops intimated their refusal, nor consequently the period which was employed in finding out persons whose names might be inserted in the new commission. Our author himself says: "Courayer has assigned the real cause of the delay, the difficulty of finding suitable consecrators, and few can consider every thing connected with the event, and not adopt this opinion." The delay is then accounted for, without impeaching the document.

The Archbishop is disposed to enquire a little into the reasons why the first commission was not executed. A question, it seems to us, of very little consequence. He admits, or rather insists, that there was not a sufficient number of bishops named in the commission who were willing to act which is, of itself, an abundantly sufficient reason.*

* We prefer not to incumber our text with a remark or two on the other reason, which has been assigned for the non-execution of this writ, and which is also abundantly sufficient. But we do not choose to pass the subject over without some notice. This reason is the want of a clause giving power to a less number of bishops than the whole number named in the writ to act. We had asserted "that the rule is familiar to every lawyer, even to this day, that a special power must be strictly pursued, and consequently when given to several, all must unite in its execution, unless the instrument conferring the power provide otherwise." *Evans' Essays p.* 41. Our author does not attempt to deny this legal proposition; but gives an answer to it which shews that he has

This objection is again brought up, in a slightly different form, at page 103, where he asks, why did not Kitchen, Barlow and Scory consecrate Parker under the first commission? We answer we do not precisely know; we have offered our conjectures; but it is of no consequence in the world. Every body agrees that they did not do it. That they could have done it validly we do not doubt; but we can readily conceive that Elizabeth's legal advisers might have chosen that it should be done legally; we can very well understand, too, that the mere legal defect could have been cured by the Queen; but she preferred another course which took up a little more time. We can only say that it

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the ingenuity, though not the knowledge, of a lawyer. He tells us; "I admit the rule within the legitimate sphere of its application, but I deny that the commission in question is included therein, because both the Canon and English law would supply the interpretation of whatever might be obscure in its language. It is an admitted principle, that every commission or other document, is to be interpreted in the absence of special instructions, according to the nature of the matter to which it refers; and as three or at most four bishops, were required by the law, no just or legal exception could have been taken to the act of any four of those named here, who by virtue of the power given by this commission, should have proceeded to its execution." *Kenrick, pp.* 99, 100. Now of his two rules of law, it is quite manifest that the first has nothing to do with the case; since there is no obscure language to be interpreted. The difficulty arises from the total absence of any language, authorising less than the whole to act. His second rule, as a general rule, is undoubtedly sound; but he so applies it as to repeal the rule which he had just admitted. If that rule only applies when there is another legal reason why the lesser number should not act, it is no rule at all. Our author seems to think that the officers of Elizabeth's chancery would not have neglected so important a clause, had it been requisite. But the fact is that they did omit it; and that fact can neither alter the law, nor afford any argument that the subsequent commission which contains it is forged. If any forgery is to be inferred from the circumstance it must be of the commission of the 9th September. But this our author does not pretend.

is in our mind no evidence that a record is forged, that it shews Queen Elizabeth to have pursued a course which Archbishop Kenrick would not have advised. The introduction of the name of Kitchen into this document, is another evidence of forgery, because he had already refused to consecrate. We have already said that we think it probable he had. Now supposing this probability to be the truth, our author does not see what follows. The utter destruction of the Nag's head story, which always proceeds upon the supposition that he was expected to consecrate up to the last moment, and some of the earlier versions represent him as actually present, and prevented from acting only by the message which was brought to him from Boner; and which was afterwards said to have been the occasion of Neale's being present. But we cannot think that the insertion of the name of the only Bishop in England in possession of a see, affords any evidence that the document was forged, even although it were proved that he had refused to act under a former commission. There might still have been a possibility of his changing his mind; or it might have been inserted as a proper compliance with decent usages, or for other reasons which we cannot conceive. Forgery is not to be inferred from such a trifling circumstance.

Our author's second reason, is a discrepancy between the commissions of the 20th October and the 6th December, in this, that in that of the 20th October, Parker is spoken of as the Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, while that of the 6th December was issued to authorize his consecration. He states this objection as two, but it is in substance only one; and we conceive it to have been abundantly answered in our "Essays," page 42 et seq. and have now only to take some notice of the reply. The stress of his argument rests upon the proposition, that the persons thus described, as Most Reverend Archbishop and Right Reverend Bishop "could not have been prelates elect but actually considered as in possession of their sees." p. 101. Now we shall not dispute

that ordinarily this is true. We referred to Elrington for instances to shew that it was not invariably so. We do not understand the Archbishop's reply, and suspect some misprint; he says that the writs mentioned by Elrington, "are writs for the restitution of temporalities in which the epithet elect naturally finds its application; as such a writ is ordinarily the last of the official acts on occasion of Episcopal promotions, until the issuing of which the see is not perfectly filled." Page 101. 102. Unless there is a misprint, this remark shews that writs for the restoration of temporalities are the strongest imaginable cases in proof of our argument. We said further "unless the commission of the 6th December be assumed or proved to be forged, it is of itself a sufficient reason for considering the words Archbishop and Bishop as being used for Archbishop elect and Bishop elect, for that is the only means by which the two commissions can be reconciled." *Essays*, *p.* 44. On this our author remarks, "I do not assume the forged character of the December commission; but it certainly cannot be appealed to as genuine, in a discussion which is to decide on its title to that character." *p.* 102. This looks very specious. But what is the state of the fact? Here are two commissions, standing on precisely the same unimpeachable ground as to all external evidence. They disagree because one uses language, which taken strictly, supposes that done which the other directs to be done. They can be reconciled by supposing a mistake, or a careless use of language in one, which by a strict interpretation, as our author calls it, implies that that occurred which every body knows did not occur. Our argument is that they must be reconciled. The assertion of our author, that a document is forged, about which there is no other ground of suspicion, which is sufficient to bring its genuineness into discussion, is not sufficient to debar us from shewing that the two may be reconciled by supposing a mistake or unusual use of language, in that which clearly, upon what our author calls the strict

interpretation, implies a falsehood. Nobody believes that Parker was consecrated before the 20th October. Our author catches hold of a document, which gives him titles to which he was not entitled before consecration, in order to prove the forgery of a document of later date requiring him to be consecrated. His argument is not that the commission of the 6th December conflicts with the truth; but that it conflicts with a falsehood implied in the commission of October. Surely to such an argument, the existence of the second document, in a body of records, into which it seems impossible that it could have been irregularly introduced, is a sufficient answer, until it is shewn to have been surreptitiously introduced, or some other proof is made of the authenticity of the document containing the falsehood, than its existence in precisely the same body of records. If either is forged it must be the document which implies a falsehood. For there is no evidence that either is forged, other than the discrepancy. This then is a sufficient reason for supposing a mistake, or loose use of language, in the irregular document, since it is impossible to suppose it forged. In brief, the only difference in the evidence of the authenticity of the two documents, is that one of them implies a known falsehood; Archbishop Kenrick thinks that this proves the *other* a forgery.

The third reason why the two documents are incompatible is, that; "From the object of the commission," our author infers, "that the bishops named in it must have been such or considered such." That they were not such, every one knows; that they were considered such, cannot fairly be inferred, from a commission in which they were united with laymen. Our author's own extract from the commission, shews that it was addressed not only to the prelates named, but "also to our beloved and trusty counsellors." No doubt names of laymen were added here, but our author has prudently stopped. He has however not stopped quite soon enough; for the commission, as he has given it, extends to

the whole council, unless it is limited by something following. Either way, it is clear that laymen were included in the commission; so that its object could not shew the prelates named, to be consecrated bishops, or considered as such. We are surprised that our author should continue to use an argument, whose falsity is shewn by his own pages, after that fact had been pointed out to him. *See Evans' Essays, p.* 47.

Considering the great importance attached to the commission of the 20th October, by our author, we thought it best to procure a copy of that document. As the volume of Rymer, in which it is contained, does not exist in Baltimore, we availed ourselves of the kindness of a friend to obtain a transcript from the copy of Rymer, in the Philadelphia Library. We have placed it in this note with a translation. It will be at once seen, that it contains abundant evidence that Archbishop Kenrick was mistaken, in supposing that the commission was such as of its own nature to import the Episcopal character of those to whom it is directed. In the first place, it is directed to a long string of laymen, knights, esquires, sergeants at law; in the second, it requires nothing of the parties named, but that they should administer an oath to certain persons, and certify the fact of their taking or refusing it into chancery, acts which are very commonly done by laymen. It is certainly suspicious that these facts are suppressed in the extracts given us from the document, in both the editions of [illegible] book; but we do not charge him with thus garbling the document, since it is more than probable that he only copied those extracts from some unscrupulous predecessor, without looking into Rymer. As that compilation, however, existed in the city in which he lived, when his first edition was published, and from which he dates the "Preface" of his second, it would have shewn a degree of care in verifying his authorities, which would have been, to say the least, commendable, had he examined for himself. It is remarkable that he should have known that Parker, Grindal, and Cox were mentioned in the document four times, and yet not have known to whom the writ was directed. But all this may have been the consequence of his following some designing predecessor. The existence of such a person, however, goes to shew that Romish authorities are not entirely trustworthy, and that Archbishop Kenrick, himself, is not sufficiently on his guard against being misled by them.

He attempts to mend his position by contending that the misdescription, would have vacated the commission as to

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De Commissione ad Sacramentum ab Ecclesiasticis Recipiendum.

Regina, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Matheo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Ac, Reverendis in Christo Patribus, Edmundo Londoniensi Episcopo, Ac Ricardo Eliensi Episcopo, Ac etiam, Dilectis et Fidelibus Consiliariis suis, Francisco Knolles Militi Vicecamerario suo, Ambrosio Cave Militi Cancellario Ducatûs sui Lancastriæ, Necnon, Dilectis et Fidelibus suis Anthonio Cooke Militi, Thomæ Smythe Militi, Willielmo Byll Sacræ Theologiæ Doctori ac Eleemosinario suo, Waltero Haddon, Et Thomæ Sackeford, Armigeris Magistris Requisitionum, Roulando Hill Militi, Ranulpho Cholmeley, Et Johanni Southcot, Servientibus ad Legem, Willielmo Maye Legum Doctori, Francisco Cave, Ricardo Goodricke, Armigeris, Roberto Gerrard Attornato suo Generali, Thomæ Huyk, Et Roberto Weston, Legum Doctoribus, Salutem.

Quando quidem Nos fideliter accepimus, quod in postrema Visitatione accepta per Commissionarios nostros per Nos nuper in diversis Regni nostri Partibus assignatis, quædam Personæ Ecclesiasticæ coram eis comparentes qui Ritus Ceremonia ac Divina Servitia infra dictum Regnum nostrum, et alia Dominia nostra per Leges Statuta et Injunctiones nostras ordinata et provisa, observare recusabunt.

Nos igitur,

In animo habentes eorum Reformationem nè divinus ac verus Dei Cultus, per tales perversos Homines, in aliquo impediatur vel molestetur, ac in approbata Pietate Sapientia Prudentia et Circumspectione vestris *plur mùm (sic)* confidentes.

Assignavimus vos Commissionarios nostros, ac per Presentes damus vobis decem et octo, decem et septem, sexdecim quindecim quatuordecim tresdecim duodecim undecim decem novem octo septem sex quinque et quatuor vestrûm (quorum vos præfatos *Arciepiscopum (sic)* Cantuariensem Episcopum London. Et Episcopum Elien. unum esse volumus) plenam Potestatem et Auctoritatem Recipiendi de omnibus et singulis Archiepiscopis Episcopis et aliis Personis Ecclesiasticis, ac aliis officiariis et Ministris Ecclesiasticis, cujuscumque Status Dignitatis Præeminentiæ seu Gradûs fuerint, seu eorum aliquis fuerit, quodam sacramentum corporaliter super sancta Dei Evangelia, coram vobis aut quatuor vestrum (quorum vos præfatos Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem

the parties misdescribed. If he were contending that Parker and the others were really consecrated before the

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Episcopum Londoniensem et Episcopum Eliensem unum esse volumus) corporaliter per ipsos et eorum quemlibet præstandum, declaratum et specificatum in quodam Actu Parliamenti nostri apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto Die Ianuarii Anno Regni nostri primo, tenti, edito, juxta vim formam et effectum ejusdem Actus.

Et ideo vobis, et quatuor vestrûm (quorum vos præfatos Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Episcopum Londoniensem et Episcopum Eliensem unum esse volumus) Mandamus, quod Sacramentum prædictum, de omnibus et singulis Archiepiscopis Episcopis, ac aliis Personis Officiariis et Ministris Ecclesiasticis quibuscumque superius specificatis, ac de eorum quolibet, recipiatis, et cum ea sic receperitis, nos inde in *Cancellarium (sic)* nostram, sub sigillis vestris vel quatuor vestrum (quorum vos præfatos Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Episcopum Londoniensem et Episcopum Eliensem unum esse volumus) sine dilatione certificetis et si contingat prædictos Archiepiscopos Episcopos, Personas Officiarios sive alios Ministros nostros quoscumque superius specificatos, aut eorum aliquem, Sacramentum prædictum peremptorie et obstinato Animo accipere, recusabit, tunc et eorum Recusationem et Recusationes et eorum cujuslibet, Nos in Cancellariam nostram, sub sigillis vestris vel quatuor vestrûm (ut prædictum est) sine dilatione certiorës faciatis.

Mandamus autem universis et singulis Archiepiscopis Ducibus Marchionibus Comitibus Vicecomitibus Episcopis Baronibus Militibus Justiciariis Majoribus Vicecomitibus Ballivis, et omnibus aliis Officiariis Ministris et subditis nostris quibuscumque quód vobis in Executione Præmissorum intendentes sint pariter et obedientes in omnibus prout decet.

In cujus rei, &c.

Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium Vicesimo Die Octobris.

Per ipsam Reginam.

Rymer, xv. 546–7. Second Edition, London, 1728.

In English:—

Of the Commission to receive the Oath from Ecclesiastics.

The Queen to the most Reverend Father in CHRIST, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Reverend Fathers in CHRIST, Edmund Bishop of London, and Richard, Bishop of Ely, and also to her beloved

20th October, this remark would have been to the purpose. But if they were unconsecrated on the twentieth of Octo-

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and faithful counsellors, Francis Knolles, Knight, her Vice Chamberlain; Ambrose Cave, Knight, Chancellor of her Dutchy of Lancaster; and to her beloved and faithful subjects, Anthony Cook, Knight; Thomas Smythe, Knight; William Byll, Doctor of Divinity, her almoner; Walter Hadden, and Thomas Sackeford, Esquires, Masters of Requests; Rowland Hill, Knight; Ranulph Cholmeley, and John Southcot, Sergeants at Law; William May, Doctor of Laws; Francis Cave, Richard Goodrick, Esquires; Robert Gerrard, her Attorney General; Thomas Huyk, and Robert Weston, Doctors of Law; Health. Whereas, we have been faithfully informed, that in the late visitation held, by our commissioners, by us, lately, in sundry parts of our dominions assigned, certain ecclesiastical persons appearing before them, who [*sic.*] refused to observe the rites, ceremonies, and Divine service, ordained and provided by our laws, statutes, and injunctions, in our, hereinafter mentioned, kingdom and our other dominions,

We, therefore, having in mind their reformation, lest the Divine and true worship of GOD, should by such obstinate men, be in any way hindered or troubled, and confiding much in your approved piety, wisdom, prudence, and circumspection, have appointed you our commissioners, and by these presents give to you, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, and four of you, (of whom we will the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and Bishop of Ely to be one) full power and authority to receive of all and singular, Archbishops and other ecclesiastical persons, and other ecclesiastical officials and ministers, of whatsoever state, dignity, pre-eminence or degree, they or any of them may have been, a certain oath to be taken corporally on the Holy Evangely of GOD, before you or four of you (of whom we will, the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and Bishop of Ely to be one) to be by them, and each of them, corporally taken, being the oath declared and set out in a certain act of our Parliament, held at Westminster, on the 25th day of January, in the first year of our reign, according to the force, form and effect, of the said act.

And therefore we command you, and four of you, (of whom we will the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and Bishop of Ely. to be one,) that you receive the said oath from all Archbishops

ber, as they undoubtedly were, in his opinion, and that of every other man, the misdescription was not the less, because it was never intended that they should be consecrated. It is not pretended that there was any statute repealing the 25 Henry VIII. which is known to be in force at this day. That act required consecration, and while it was in force unconsecrated Bishops were not legal bishops; and if so

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Bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, officials, and ministers whomsoever above specified, and from each of them, and when you shall have so received it, you shall, without delay, certify us thereof in our Chancery under your seals, or the seals of four of you, (of whom we will the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, and Bishop of Ely, shall be one,) and if it shall happen that the aforesaid Archbishops, ecclesiastical persons, officials or other ministers, or any of them, shall peremptorily, and with an obstinate mind, refuse to take the said oath, then you shall certify to us in our Chancery, without delay, their refusal or refusals, and their [names] under your seals, or the seals of four of you, (as is aforesaid.)

We also command all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and all our other officers, ministers, and subjects whomsoever, that they be assisting to you in the execution of the business, and also obedient in all things as becomes them.

In testimony of which, &c.

Witness the Queen at Westminster, the 20th day of October.

By the Queen herself.

The above is a faithful translation; but the original, from which it is made, bears marks of haste or carelessness in Rymer's copyist. The word "names" in brackets, near the close, has no corresponding word in the original, but is necessary to the sense; and there is at least one other sentence which cannot be construed, on account of omissions; besides three errors in gender or spelling. Such a document is not one in which an omission is of much importance. As to the fact of the omission of the word "*elect*," applied to the prelates, occurring four times; the word need not have occurred more than once; it being sufficiently referred to in the subsequent mention of the prelates, by the word "*prefatos*," aforesaid, with which the names of the prelates are always connected after the first mention of them.

called were misdescribed, and the legal effect of the misdescription would not be the less because they were not afterwards consecrated. If as our author supposes, page 101, "the bishops of the new Church," as he affects to call them, "had deemed themselves authorized to consecrate each other," it would have at least been done legally. An act of Parliament might have been obtained from a Parliament in which only one bishop had a seat, to legalize the transaction, or at least the forms of the existing law would have been gone through, and a commission issued to the consecrators. Now if our author be right in believing that Parker's consecrators were not bishops, this was exactly the effect of the December commission. If they were bishops, then there was no occasion for a consecration by presbyters, and consequently no probability of one.

The Archbishop's third reason for believing the commission of the 6th December forged, is its inconsistency with a document bearing date 28th November, 1559. This is a grant to Parker of an augmentation of his coat of arms, in which he is designated Archbishop of Canterbury "without the addition of elect." The argument upon this point is of course so much the same as upon the last, that it is not necessary to go over it. But it seems to have struck our anthor, in the hurry of composition, that something more might be made of it in another aspect, and accordingly he asks this strange question: "Is it not a most extraordinary thing that such a patent should have issued, full eight days before the issuing of the commission for his consecration?" p. 102. Now if this question were gravely put to us, we should answer, with as much gravity as we could command, No! Our author tells us in the next page, "That such an addition would be made to the arms of Parker, after he was consecrated, or when necessity obliged the Queen, through the plenitude of her supremacy to dispense with the ceremony, is what may be conceived, but when a new commission as is supposed, was about to issue

for his consecration, it looks very unlikely that he would have received such a patent." The Queen designed to give Parker two things, an Archbishopric and a coat of arms. Our author thinks it very likely that she would do so in a certain order of time; but it is so unlikely that she would adopt another, that it affords proof that one of the documents is forged. It suits our author's argument that the forgery should relate to the Archbishopric, and therefore that is the one to be considered forged; although the other implies, if construed by his own rule, a notorious falsehood.

The fourth reason for treating this important document as a forgery, is the existence of the clause *supplentes*, as it is called, by which the Queen supplies the deficiencies of the intended consecrators or their actions. The first argument derived from this clause, is that if it had really existed in the document, the famous act of Parliament of 1566 would have been unnecessary. But the very extract from the act which he gives, on the same page with the objection, recites, that some such clause was introduced into her majesty's letters patents; so that the act can hardly be considered by any body, but our author, to have been made unnecessary in the minds of its framers, by a fact which its preamble recites. The act renders it probable that there was just such a clause, and in fact would lead one to suppose that it had been a common one. But there is no other document of the kind, genuine or forged, in which such a clause occurs. We wonder that it did not occur to our author that this proved the act to be forged. That is too bold an inference; but he does maintain, that the mention of a particular class of documents, in an undoubted act of Parliament, proves that the only document of that class known to exist, is a forgery. He says expressly, that "we should expect to find such a clause at least in the commissions issued about the supposed time of Parker's consecration." We find it in one; and that one is, on that account, to be treated as a forgery. He then gravely asks; "To what letters

patent, then does the act of Parliament refer?" And he answers himself in the following quotations from Hardouin.

This M. Hardouin is an invaluable ally, to any one on the search for forgeries; no terrier has a quicker nose for a rat, than he has for a forgery. He published at Paris in 1693, a book, in which "he asserted that there was, some ages since, a set of men who took upon them to draw up history as we find it now, there being none at that time. That he knew the time when they lived, and the place where they executed their design. That they made use of Cicero and Pliny, Virgil's, Georgics, and Horace's *Sermones* and Epistles, which are the only genuine monuments of antiquity remaining except some few inscriptions and *Fasti*. That those who by the use of these remains of antiquity, laboured to draw up a body of history from all these different pieces, seemed to him, to compose a new fable out of several other fables. He adds that these architects of annals had for their whole assistance a great number of ancient medals, which they had collected with considerable labour, and which were in the hands of the first projector and chief manager of this design. Upon this fact not only Josephus' and Eusebius' Histories are ranked among these forgeries, but likewise all the profane historians, poets and orators, except those above mentioned, so that he absolutely rejects Cicero's Orations, Terence's Plays, Virgil's Æneid, Livy's History, and in short almost all the other ancient writings." His rejecting Parker's Register, seems after this the most natural thing in the world. But these are not the only forgeries which this wonderfully sagacious man has detected. In another work, he informs his wondering readers of other "paradoxes which have astonished the world, viz: that he was convinced that Facundus, Liberatus, Marius Mercator, Victor Turcnensis, Cassiodorus, to whom so many works are ascribed, (except the *Formulæ*, the treatise on the soul, and the commentary on the Psalms,) Isidorus, who is supposed to be the author of the book concerning the ecclesiastical writers; that all these pretended African, Italian and Spanish writers, with several others, were born in France, and are not near so ancient as they are believed to be. This is a bold assertion, but nothing in comparison of what he affirms afterwards, viz: that of *all the writings* which bear the name of Justin Martyr, *there is only the* Dialogue against Trypho, which is genuine, all the rest being suppositious. That is, that the two Apologies of Justin, cited with approbation by Eusebius, St. Jerome, and all the ancients,

"The statute of 1566, enacts that no doubt should be entertained of the lawfulness of the ordinations, for which Her Majesty had issued

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are spurious. To support this, it must be maintained, that the works in which those apologies are mentioned are likewise suppositious. This is a necessary consequence, which Father Hardouin resolutely agrees to: but, unfortunately for him, the *Apology of Justin* is mentioned in the *Dialogue against Trypho*, which he owns to be genuine; for with respect to the books of Tatian and Methodius, Eusebius' History, and *St. Jerome's Treatise concerning the ecclesiastical writers*, he makes no scruple to reject their authority as spurious." Truly we should have been surprised, if he had held Parker's Register, or any thing else, to be genuine. But his absurdities do not stop here,—his writings were suppressed by authority; but he printed a volume at Luxemburg in 1700, in which "he speaks of *an impious faction* which began a long time ago, *which still subsists, and appears with the greatest insolence*, and which, *by forging an infinite number of writings that seem to breathe nothing but piety, seems to have no other design than to remove* GOD *out of the world, that is, out of the hearts of mankind, and to overturn all religion.*" The man was a monomaniac on the subject of forgery, but not altogether without method in his madness.

Monsieur Francis de la Pelloniere observes that some "learned men both Protestants and Papists have falsely imagined that Father Hardouin's prepossession for medals or his design to serve some political end of the society had given this strange turn to his thoughts. But it was not so. His blind submission to the Church of Rome, and after that his religious infatuation for the tenets of the schools (which he makes, as the whole society does, the standards of orthodoxy) are the true springs of his exorbitances." Hardouin was a Jesuit. The same writer comes to the conclusion that; "He is as great an instance as the world ever was witness to, that when a man has been inured from his youth to a religious love of darkness and to the hatred of light, as an unquestionable first principle, nothing can be expected from him, but all the bad effects of the most extravagant fanaticism." It would thus appear that the test of forgery in any writing in M. Hardouin's mind was its agreement or disagreement with the interests of the Church of Rome.

The passages in this note within marks of quotation are from the article "Hardouin" in the "General Dictionary Historical and Critical"

her letters-patent, on account of the defects, faults and imperfections of the persons named; (such as would be the canonical irregularity or

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of Messrs. Bernard, Birch and Lockman, Folio vols. x. London 1739. vol. vi. pp. 20, 21, 22.

We derive some further information on the subject of this remarkable controversialist, from the "Introduction" to the late Oxford Translation of the "Dissertation of Father Courayer." The editor, after adverting to the facts we have just mentioned, says, speaking of Hardouin and of the opinions which we have attributed to him,

"This opinion, or at least the expression of it, it is but fair to add, he was required by his superiors, in the year 1707, after its confutation the same year by La Croze, to retract. From a posthumous Work, however, '*Joanis Harduini, Jesuitæ, Ad Censuram Scriptorum Vet-erum Prolegomena*,' printed at London in 1766, it appears that, though he lived to the age of 83, viz., to Sept. 2, 1729, the only alteration of importance which his views had undergone was the substitution of Plautus for Cicero in his quaternion of excepted Latin books! Of Greek Works he excepted only Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, and the nine books of Herodotus. All other ancient writings, whether sacred or profane, except only 'the books which the Church accounts canonical 'and sacred,' (p. 1) and the above-mentioned six profane authors, he maintained to have been forged by a wicked set of men for the purpose of overthrowing religion. As to the date of this rather extensive forgery, he thinks, to quote the conclusion of the above Prolegomena, that he has made it clear in his Treatise on the ancient coins of the French Kings (*de Antiquis Numismatibus Regum Francorum*) 'that that 'plan undertaken by the wicked set, and contrived in the reign of Philip 'the August [A. D. 1180–1223,] began then to make its appearance, 'but much more under Philip the Fair [1285–1314] and Valois [1328–'1350:] then advanced almost without bounds for more than a century 'and a half.'" (p. 237.)—*Dissertation, &c. Oxford*, 1844. *Introduction p. xxiii.*

To this passage the editor appends the following note:

"Some lesser flights of this extraordinary author according to the Biographie Universelle, were: 1. His expressing the opinion, in his Commentary on the New Testament, that Our Saviour and His Apostles *preached in Latin!* 2. His setting down such men as Jansen, Quesnel, and Pascal among the *Atheists (!)* he pretended in his *Athei Detecti* to have discovered. 3. His rejecting as spurious the records of all the

illegitimacy, or such like,) seeing that Her Majesty, by virtue of her supreme power, had dispensed in such, with all those whom she has named, to episcopal sees; a dispensation contained in her letters-patent, sealed with the great seal of England; which, in this regard, are more ample and detailed than those of Henry VIII., and Edward VI., as might be seen in the records of parliament, where these letters-patent are registered. This is the true meaning of this act. What the queen, by virtue of her supremacy, provided for with more care and diligence than her predecessors, in the aforesaid letters-patent, was the dispensation from the canonical impediments, irregularities and reproaches which on that account might be made to the elected." pp. 105, 106.

We suppose this to be a sensible answer; because it is made by a gentleman of acknowledged ability. But if we met with it where it had not that prejudice in its favor, we should come to a very different conclusion. The account of the letters patent given by Hardouin, agrees exactly with the clause *supplentes*, except that he, for his own reasons, omits to mention that portion of the clause which dispenses with what is wanting in the thing to be done, and there is no other document which at all answers the description. Hardouin has shewn his ignorance of the original documents by two egregious blunders; one in supposing that they were under the privy seal; the other that they were registered among the records of Parliament. He is then a strange authority to quote in a discussion about them.

But where are the documents which he describes, as those to which the act refers? Archbishop Kenrick says that such dispensations are not unfrequent. "And if we suppose that they were imparted by a distinct royal act, a supposition by no means improbable, such being then the practice of the

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Councils previous to that of Trent! Having re-edited himself Labbé and Cossart's Edition of the Councils (Paris 1715,) and having been asked (as we are told,) 'why then did he edit them?' he replied (as is said,) that 'GOD and himself alone knew the truth on that head.' This Edition, being accused of mutilation and interpolation according to his own judgment, was suppressed by the Government."—*Ib. note, p. xxiii.*

Holy See, we will be able to understand how easily the fabricator of the December commission may, as Hardouin conjectured, have received the idea of a supplying clause, from these very words of the statute. That the conjecture is not devoid of probability may be inferred from the observation already made, that the clause of the act of 1566 recites what was done, not in a single instance, but what had been the custom in Her majesty's reign." *p.* 106. This is a very ingenious "Conjecture," got up under the pressure of a strong polemical necessity; but there are two circumstances which interfere with its probability. The documents so ingeniously conjectured, and said to be not unfrequent, are not shewn, or attempted to be shewn, to have existed at all. Moreover if they existed in the conjectured form, they would not answer the description in the act; which speaks, not of dispensations contained in separate royal acts, but of "clauses inserted and put in Her majesty's said letters patents;" the said letters patents being those "directed to any Archbishop, bishop, or others for the confirming, investing and consecrating to any office or dignity of any Archbishop or bishop." *apud Kenrick p.* 104.

Our author is however so well pleased with the aid he has obtained from Hardouin, that he has sought the assistance of another Frenchman, Le Quien, and with almost equal success. This new ally however does not regard the supplying clause as furnishing any proof of forgery, but only that it does not prove the document genuine. "This, says he, is not a certain proof of the authenticity of the commission. It was easy to compose it on the model of those issued by Elizabeth in the first year of her reign." Now we are ready to concede that the presence of no clause whatever is, of itself, a certain proof of the authenticity of any document. But clearly it can be no proof of forgery; and when a single document is found, answering to the description of a class of documents, it seems to us that the coincidence has a tendency to shew that the document is

genuine. We remark by the way, that the precedents which Le Quien supposes to exist, in the documents issued by Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign, can no where be found. They are a class of documents having no representative but this alleged imitation. Upon the whole then, it appears to us that Archbishop Kenrick, and his French allies, have totally failed in their bold attack upon the genuineness of the significavit for the consecration of Archbishop Parker, dated 6th December, 1559. This document comes before us with as strong claims to respect, as those by whose aid it is sought to be discredited, or as any other document to be found in the records of the great seal of England. No reason of any value can be assigned for believing it a forgery, and it must be taken for a genuine document, and it will be so taken, except by those to whose cause it is fatal, and who are therefore determined not to be convinced of its genuineness.

We have now disposed of four of the ten instruments under the great seal of England, which have been mentioned by our author in relation to the question which we are examining. The remaining six can be examined together. They are all of the same date, 18th December, 1559, and are royal letters, directed to Parker requiring him to perform sundry Episcopal acts. In order that our readers may better understand the manner in which these documents bear upon the controversy, we shall offer some remarks upon the nature of evidence, which besides, will be by no means useless in reference to other questions, which may arise before we shall have finished our labors.

Evidence, then, is of two kinds, direct and presumptive, or circumstantial. Direct evidence, is that which, whether oral or written, relates to the very fact principally in question between the parties. Presumptive, or circumstantial evidence, is that which, whether written or oral, only relates to collateral facts or circumstances, from which the existence of the principal fact may be reasonably inferred, or

presumed, or if written, is perhaps itself such a collateral fact. Thus the record in Parker's Register of his consecration, is direct evidence of that fact. The commission of the 20th October, of which we have said so much, is only presumptive evidence that he was at its date Archbishop of Canterbury; for it does not directly assert the fact but only calls him by that title. It is a case of the last named kind of presumptive evidence. Such a written document, is itself a fact, from the existence of which arises a reasonable inference or presumption that he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Direct evidence is always conclusive, until it is shewn not to be trustworthy; which may be done either by overwhelming it with a mass of contradictory direct testimony or by the proof of facts, either direct or collateral, which shew that the document is forged, or the witness perjured or infamous. Presumptive, or circumstantial evidence, on the other hand, is of various degrees of efficacy; sometimes so strong as to determine the decision at once. But it is always capable of being strengthened by the adduction of new evidence. In fact its strength generally lies in combination.

The great element of that strength is consistency; for truth is always consistent. In the words of an eminently philosophical lawyer; "All things which really happened, did actually consist together." Hence it follows, that the more circumstances are brought to bear on a question, the more various the points at which the story, if fabricated, is brought into contact with the truth, the greater is the probability of discrepancy between its parts and the surrounding truth, which will establish the fact of its fictitious character. A single falsehood, touching only a single fact, cannot be inconsistent with itself, and may be so skilfully connected with the immediately surrounding circumstances as to escape detection. But an extensive combination of falsehoods, which shall be entirely consistent with itself, seems to be a work beyond the power of the human mind. We

believe that the greatest masters of the art of fictitious writing have never succeeded in it. Still greater is the difficulty of accommodating the fiction to the surrounding facts, which are not at all under the control of the fabricator, so that they too shall consist perfectly with the fabrication. Hence, the greater the mass of presumptive, collateral, or circumstantial, evidence, for these phrases all mean the same thing, which can be brought to bear upon a point, the trustworthiness, for instance, of a piece of direct evidence, the greater the probability of the discovery of the fiction, if there be one; and if the story stands the test, the greater the certainty of its truth.

This may be illustrated by some of the very documents before us. The commission of the 20th October, in which Parker is called Most Reverend, and Archbishop of Canterbury, would, if it stood alone, be a piece of evidence raising a very fair presumption that he was at that date Archbishop of Canterbury. When the grant of a coat of arms to him in November, uses the same style, the evidence becomes perceptibly stronger. When, in addition to this, the documents of the 18th December, and many other subsequent documents, shewing him to have acted as Archbishop of Canterbury, are produced, the proof that he was so becomes overwhelming. But these additional documents only corroborate the first, in the fact that he was, Archbishop. They do not any of them furnish the slightest proof that he was so on the 20th October. Each in its place furnishes evidence that he held the office at its own date. Taken altogether, they furnish irresistible evidence that he held the office; but none of them shew when he entered upon it. Only he must be taken to have entered upon it before the date of the earliest of them, until the contrary is shewn. But now direct evidence is furnished of his entering upon his office, by consecration on the 17th December. Is that direct evidence true? We find that all the vast mass of accumulated evidence, to which we have adverted, with the exception of

the two writs in October and November, is perfectly consistent with the direct evidence; all the proof that Parker did, or was called on to do, episcopal acts is after that date. Did we find any thing of the kind before, it would be inconsistent with the direct testimony, and would so far shake its credibility; but we find nothing in the contrary, we find facts on record which shew that Parker was not Archbishop before the 17th December. The two documents of October and November stand alone. We examine them, and find that their efficacy as proof depends entirely upon the strong presumption of the correct use of language in an official document. But there is abundant evidence that Parker was not Archbishop, at the date of either of them. We are driven then either to believe them forged, or to believe that their framers have made use of language improperly.

Against supposing them forged there are two arguments. One, that the innocence of every man is to be presumed; the other, that they are undoubtedly to be found in the Rolls, the proper receptacle of such documents; and that it is not conceivable that they could have been introduced there after their date, without so disturbing the order of the records as to insure detection. Archbishop Kenrick will not feel the force of the first argument; because he does not believe that Protestants are entitled to the benefit of that benignant rule. But it happens that both arguments apply with the same force to the other documents that they do to those of October and November. We cannot therefore accommodate him with the admission that the others are all forged; and, as we do not believe the two to be forged, there remains only the alternative of an improper use of language.

Now this improper use of language, may have had its origin in two different modes. The language itself is nothing more than giving to Parker titles, to which he was not yet entitled. This may have been a mere anticipation of titles, which he was soon to bear, produced by flattery, carelessness or some other cause; or it may have been

adopted, because it had been determined at that time that Parker should usurp those titles. But then comes in the direct evidence, with which this is inconsistent. The Romanists are not justified in considering this inconsistency as proving the forgery of the direct evidence, because the direct evidence is perfectly consistent with the acknowledged fact that Parker was not Archbishop of Canterbury on the 20th October, 1559; it is only inconsistent with the reason which they choose to assign, for the improper use of language, into which it is conceded that the clerks of the chancery had fallen. It is incumbent on them to prove that their reason is the true one; more especially as there is proof that Parker was not treated as Archbishop until after the 17th December.

They say, that all this proof is forged. But they must prove that forgery, and before they can use the October and November documents for that purpose, they must shew that the reason which they assign for the use of the irregular titles is the true one. This they are at liberty to do, by shewing any evidence, that Parker did any Episcopal act, or was required to do one, or was treated in any way as an Archbishop, before the 17th December. Now, they cannot do this. After two hundred and eighty nine years of investigation, they produce four things, which they call facts inconsistent with the record of Parker's consecration. One of these is the existence of these very documents. Two others relate to matters subsequent to his admitted consecration, one of them having no bearing, and the other no direct bearing, on the question, all which we shall prove in our next essay. The fourth, is a slight circumstance, fully capable of explanation, as we shall shew at the proper time. They are also at liberty to adduce any act of Elizabeth, dispensing with the consecration, or directing it to be performed in an irregular or uncanonical manner. But nothing of the kind is even alleged to exist.

Now, of all this doctrine of presumptive, or circumstantial evidence, the Romish controversialists have so little com-

prehension, that whenever a piece of evidence is produced for the purpose of corroborating the direct testimony in favor of the Lambeth consecration, they conceive they have answered it, when they have said that it is not conclusive, i. e. direct, proof of Parker's consecration. There neither is, nor can be, more than one piece of direct evidence to the point. It is produced; they reject it as forged, and when collateral evidence is produced to corroborate it, they reject that because it is not direct. Such a course indicates either a degree of weakness, which cannot easily be imputed to the very astute men with whom we have to contend, or a consciousness of a weak cause.

To apply what we have been saying to the six writs of the 18th December. Their number shews, that which the whole history of the period also shews, that there was great want of an Archbishop of Canterbury, that there was work for him to do, and that the Queen and her advisers were anxious to set him to work. From this it is a fair inference, that there was no great delay in issuing them, after Parker was in a condition to execute them. The probability then is, that had he been in such a condition on or before the 20th October, or had it been then finally determined that he should take possession of the see of Canterbury, and act as an Archbishop without consecration, they would have been issued in October. But they are really issued on the eighteenth of December, the very next day after that which the Lambeth record assigns for the consecration of Parker. The two things fit exactly. The number of writs issued at once shews necessity and haste; their bearing date the day after the consecration shews the same facts; the consecration having taken place the day before their date shews the reason why, in spite of necessity and haste, they had been thus long delayed. They thus corroborate the Lambeth register, and increase the probability of its genuineness. Our author is sufficiently sensible of this, to wish them out of his way. He accordingly tells us; "that there are sufficient reasons to

call in question the authenticity of the several writs addressed to Parker. Grindal and Cox, two of the prelates for whose consecration two of these six writs appear to have been issued, are styled bishops, the one of London the other of Ely, in the commission already referred to, issued on the 20th of October preceding. Whatever weight the argument advanced to disprove the commission of 6th of December may have, it is equally applicable to these two writs. Again John Stow calls Grindal *bishop* absolutely, without the title of elect, at the obsequies of Henry II, King of France, performed at St. Paul's in September, 1559, just three months before the date assigned for his consecration."—*Kenrick, p.* 107. Now, as to the value of the argument derived from the commission of October 20, we flatter ourselves that we have already shewn it to be none at all. The argument from that commission does not so much rest upon the commission itself, as upon the Romanist construction of it; and they have produced no evidence to shew that that construction is the true one. The commission, or rather their construction of it, stands alone. The two writs, against which it is now used, are found among the records, where they could not have been subsequently placed without disturbing the order of the whole system. This argument is not a little strengthened when applied to six writs dated on the same day. The two writs are corroborated by the other four; against which no evidence whatever is produced. They connect themselves also with Parker's Register;* which is itself so connected with

* Besides the general connexion of these writs with Parker's Register, the reader, if he will refer to the Appendix to our former Essays, No. xvi. pp. 287, 288, will find extracts from that Register, which shew that Parker exercised jurisdiction over London as a vacant Diocese on the 19th December, 1559, and also over Ely on the 19th and 21st of the same month. The last was the very day of the consecration of Grindal and Cox. Up to that time then, they were not bishops in possession. These entries form part of that body of connected evidence the forgery of which we have shewn in the text, to be impossible.

the records of the great seal, and the Registers of other bishops, as to render its forgery impossible, without the aid of a system of forgeries unparalleled in the history of the world, and which no human wit could execute without some error or inconsistency, which would demonstrate the fraud. There can then be no question as to the side on which the scale preponderates, even were it a question of forgery. But when the question is only between a mistaken use of language on one side, and an extensive system of forgery on the other, nobody but a polemic in great distress for an argument can hesitate. But this is not all; Stow calls Grindal bishop in September.

This argument from Stow's calling Grindal "bishop" without the addition of elect, is, as we have shewn in the text, of no great value. Moreover, there seems abundant evidence that he calls Parker "elect" at the same time. Archbishop Bramhall in his "Consecration of Protestant Bishops vindicated," (*Works vol. iii. p.* 150. *Anglo-Catholic Edition;*) tells us; "If the fathers would lay aside their prejudice, there is enough in John Stow's Annals, to discover the falsehood of their lying fable of the consecration at the Nag's Head. By their account, the Nag's Head consecration was September 7, anno 1559; but after this, in relating the solemn obsequies kept in St. Paul's Church, for the French King, John Stow calleth him 'Dr. Parker Archbishop of Canterbury elect,' therefore the Nag's Head consecration is a lying fable, if he was still 'elect,' he was not then consecrated;" Mr. Haddan, on the same page, *note p.* refers for the above fact to "*Annals p.* 639, *ed.* 1615." He then goes on thus, "so also the orig. record of 'the obsequies of Henry the ij, de.,' &c. &c., in the college of arms, printed in the Report of the Record commissioners," pp. 482–486, folio 1833. Mr. Williams too, gives the following quotation from Archbishop Kenrick's favorite author, Ward. "That the election of Matthew Parker in the Register, agrees not in time with his being called Bishop elect by John Stow and Raphael Hollingshed in their Chronicles. For they speaking of the solemnity of the French King, Henry II. kept at St. Paul's Church in London on the eighth and ninth days of September, stile Matthew Parker, at that time Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury elect, which is near three months before Mason elects him in his Regis-

Now, this is no more than an improper use of language again, and under circumstances where such an occurrence was not unlikely. Stow did not write his account of the obsequies of Henry II. in September 1559; when he did write it, Grindal either was, or had been bishop of London, and Stow not unnaturally called him by that title which he had actually borne, in referring to a period earlier than that at which he received it. We suppose that most persons, speaking of the first edition of the work before us, would call it "Archbishop Kenrick's book." And in like manner, speaking of any transaction of the Most Reverend author, in which he might have been concerned before he went to St. Louis, would call him Archbishop Kenrick. So general is this, that we thought it necessary in our Preface to our former Essays, to apologise for calling our author, who was then a bishop, by the title which he bore when he published

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ter, and farther, we find Dr. Grindal called by Hollingshed, Bishop newly elect of London on the twelfth of August, and we may reasonably conclude Parker elected before him, this, says he, is four months before Mason's election of him by his pretended *Congé d'elire*. But which is yet more, Dr. Heylin tells us, *that Doctor Matthew Parker was elected to the see of Canterbury on the first of August. The Congé d'elire*, says he, *which opened him the way to this eminent dignity, bears date on the 8th of July, within a few days after the deprivation of the former bishops. Ward, "Controversy of Ordination," p. 43, apud Williams, "Succession of Protestant Bishops Asserted," p.* 101. *Ed. London* 12*mo*. 1721. It will be seen that Ward's argument on this passage, rests for one of its premises, upon Mason's mistatement of the time of Parker's election, in which he undoubtedly shews that Mason was mistaken, and the Register itself agrees with Heylin's statement. See Bramhall's Works iii. 186. For this reason his whole argument fails. But our business is with another of his premises; that is that Stow and Hollingshead call Parker, on September 8, "Bishop elect." Now this shews that he was not then consecrated, nor held to be consecrated, and consequently, that if Grindal were called "Bishop" absolutely, it must have been by mistake.

his book. We have heard that the apology was not considered sufficient, by some of his friends. It may, however, have been all for the best, for had we called him bishop, it might, upon his own principles, have been produced some day, to shew that he was a bishop in 1841, and that consequently the record of his subsequent consecration is forged, and therefore that he has never been a bishop at all.— We are very glad that our course has preserved us from being the instrument of such injustice.

But if Stow called Grindal *bishop* in September 1559, intending any thing inconsistent with his subsequent consecration, he has contradicted himself; for he has distinctly stated his consecration on the 21st December in that year.

Our author does not mention that fact in this place; but he afterwards takes occasion to say, without any direct proof, that this is one of the augmentations of Stow's work, i. e. a forgery. This rests on certain collateral matters, such as his omitting to state some other facts, which our author thought he would have stated, had he really stated any thing about Grindal's consecration. This shall be examined when we come to it; for the present, it is sufficient to say, that Stow was writing a history of London, that Grindal was consecrated bishop of London, and therefore it was very natural that Stow should mention the fact, even though he omitted others of more general importance.

But this inference from Stow's carelessness, is also inconsistent with the undisputed commission of the 9th September. At the date of that Commission, it is conceded that Elizabeth expected that she would have Parker consecrated. Now the obsequies of King Henry the second were celebrated at that very time, on the 8th and 9th days of the month. *Strype, Annals, &c. ch.* 9, *near the end. Vol. I. p.* 126.— Archbishop Kenrick himself gives the date, as September 9th, at page 146 of his second edition.

ESSAY III.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. REGISTER.

We are now approaching the very centre of our controversy; the standard as it were of the assailed party, about which the conflict rages most fiercely; the official Register of Parker's consecration. Our author commences his attack upon it, with a translation of the Register itself, in which there is nothing, to which it seems to us necessary to object.[a]

It may however be as well to observe, that in that part of the Register, which speaks of the actual pronouncing the words of consecration, it appears that those words were uttered by all the bishops present, "the Elects of Chichester and Hereford," says the Register, "and the Suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, having placed their hands on the Archbishop say, in English, 'Take the Holy Ghost,'" &c. This is Archbishop Kenrick's translation, and it is cor-

[a] It contains, however, an amusing blunder, occasioned by the translator's not knowing the unclassical meaning, which mediæval usage had fixed upon the classical word *armiger*. "Anthony Huse principal arm-bearer and first registrar," should have been "Anthony Huse, Esquire, principal and first registrar," and Thomas Argall, arm-bearer and registrar," should have been "Thomas Argall, Esquire, registrar." It would be difficult to say what a bishop wanted with arm-bearers. It is true that in the middle ages the Church of England had her Beck and her Spencer, more familiar with the carnal weapon than with the duties of their holy office, and as late as the reign of Louis XIII, we believe that an Archbishop of Bordeaux commanded a French fleet with distinguished ability. But these were always exceptional cases, and it is not probable that even these warlike prelates provided themselves with armor-bearers at their consecrations.

rect, being made from the Cambridge copy, where the word is in the third person plural of the present tense, *inquiunt;* in the original at Lambeth, it is in the third person plural of the perfect tense of another word of the same signification, *dixerunt*, said. To this passage, which we, following Mr. Haddan, had cited to shew that Barlow was not the sole or principal consecrator of Parker, our author appends this note: "According to the Ordinal, the consecrating prelate alone says the words which follow." His motive for this note was, of course, to insinuate that the variation from the Ordinal was "internal evidence of fabrication." But he did not choose to bring that point directly forward, because he knew that the answer would be ready / that no forger would have ventured on such a variation; his object would be, to shew that all things were done in the regular and usual manner. Now there was a reason in this case for departing from the usual form. For the Ordinal directs that the *Archbishop* shall say the words, *Cardwell, page* 421, but there was no Archbishop present at the consecration of Parker, the consecrators were all equal and therefore, naturally enough, might all speak the words. When this is stated, one sees at once, that it is not unlikely to have happened / but it is just one of those circumstances which are not likely to occur, *a priori*, to any one; least of all to a forger. Our author, however, takes care to sink the word *Archbishop*, substituting "consecrating prelate," words which are not in the Ordinal. In another part of his work, speaking of the same part of the Ordinal, he substitutes for the word *Archbishop*, the words "presiding bishop." This is the phrase of the American Ordinal / but is not found in that of Edward VI.

He follows up the translation by an apparently very candid admission of the force of the evidence against him. It is in the following words:

"The principal arguments adduced to sustain the genuineness of the register, are, the exact conformity of dates between this event, and a multifarious collection of episcopal acts registered in a folio volume of

four hundred and eleven pages, in which it occurs first; which conformity, it is said, would be inconceivable, on the supposition that this entry is a forgery; 'while,' says Mr. Haddan, 'the supposition that the whole book is a forgery, is too monstrous to be seriously entertained.' Besides, it is said, these entries in the archiepiscopal register are perfectly conformable to the diocesan and other registers of the time. It is also confirmed by a large body of extrinsic evidence, which was published to the world in various ways before the end of the sixteenth century.

"There can be no doubt that the amount of evidence now produced to support the Lambeth register, is of a most imposing character.—Nothing could be more absurd than to reject this evidence, without the strongest *motives*;[b] and nothing could be more unjust than the attempt to get rid of this proof by ascribing it to a vast system of forgery, unless those who make the assertion were prepared to establish the fact, by distinct and independent arguments."—*Kenrick, pp.* 112, 113.

At the end of this extract our author avows his conviction, "that this Lambeth Register and the other records referred to in corroboration of its authenticity, are, to say the very least, of so suspicious a character, as to render them inadmissible as evidence on the present occasion." Why does he not say at once, like a man, that they are forged? Because he does not believe that they are forged. He well knows that his arguments are far from being of that class, which he has described as "the strongest motives," but are exceedingly weak. So true is this, that he is afraid to trust

[b] We have taken the liberty of italicising the word "*motives*," in the text of our quotation, and of adding this note, lest our readers should misconstrue Archbishop Kenrick. He uses the word here, as he generally does, not in its English, but in its French sense; not for inducements, but for grounds of argument. Without this caution, an unwary reader might have been led into the error of supposing our author to have carried his candor to the unexampled length, of admitting that he was driven to attack the impregnable position which he had just been describing, by the necessities of his case. This would have been the more likely to happen, as the reader would soon find, that while his inducements to the course he has pursued were really very strong, his grounds of argument were really very weak.

them until he has prepossessed his reader's mind with prejudices against the records, founded themselves on grounds, which a man of his intelligence cannot but know to be utterly worthless. He begins his assault, by quoting from some half-crazed vindicator of Mary Queen of Scots, who, if we are not mistaken in the man, for he has not dared to name him, lived in the latter half of the last century; two centuries from the time of which he was writing. This "distinguished Protestant divine," as our author designates him says, according to our author, "Forging—I blush for the honor of Protestantism while I write it—seems to have been peculiar to the Reformed. I look in vain for any one of those accursed outrages of imposition amongst the disciples of Popery." Again: "Forgery appears to have been the peculiar disease of Protestantism." Having by the aid of this notable authority, whose capacity for forming an impartial judgment, is so clearly evinced by his style, no doubt satisfied all his Romanist readers, that a Protestant and a forger are convertible terms, he takes another step, and cites "a pardon granted to an individual in the reign of James I," *p.* 113, "for erasing and interlining" records, *p.* 114. His argument here, we suppose, is [illegible] this; an individual was pardoned in the reign of James I. for erasing and interlining documents,—therefore all the documents relating to the episcopate in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, forty years before, are forged. He says that, these extracts are produced for the purpose of removing from the minds of the reader the impression, which the inexperienced honesty of some might easily admit, that the charge of forgery, is an improbable supposition resorted to for the purpose of evading a testimony which cannot be refuted."[c] *p.* 114.

[c] To this document our author appends the following note. "In the mean time," says a writer who affirms Parker's Lambeth consecration, "it must not be forgotten that the Register, Diary, and *Antiquitates*, appeared about the time that the forgery of documents is said to have

A man must have a great deal of inexperienced honesty, who, after examining the subject, entertains a doubt, that such is the precise state of the fact. The Romanists have been driven, by the necessities of their position, to make the charge of forgery, upon the most insufficient grounds; and they adhere to it, because they have nothing else to say, and it is all-important to them to invalidate the orders of the Church. In the next sentence, we are told that the documents cannot be shielded from the imputation of forgery by their supposed official character; as if this pardon were produced to shew the possibility of forging official documents. Who ever doubted that possibility? Official documents may be forged; but can a large number of entire documents be introduced into a series of records, official or not, without palpable evidence of the fact? If such evidence exists, let it be produced; if it does not, the question is at an end, forgery on such a scale is impossible; for is the physical difficulty the only one; the intellectual one is just as insurmountable. No human being could forge such a body of documents, so fitting to each other that no discrepancy can be pointed out. He attempts to shew nothing of the sort, and in fact takes, two or three pages farther on, the opposite ground that the documents

been so prevalent as to be made a source of fiscal gain. Pardons were issued at a small charge and ran thus: 'Pardonamus falsas fabricationes chartarum, monumentorum ac publicationes eorum.'—*Waterworth p.* 333, *note.*"—*Kenrick p.* 114, *note.*

We should like to see upon what authority Mr. Waterworth, who we believe belongs to the living generation, founds his assertion of a fact which we certainly never heard of before. The fragment of a pardon is just such evidence as the clown produced to prove that Jack Cade's father built a chimney, the bricks were shewn to prove it; so here we have an extract from a Latin pardon, but who issued it, to whom, when, and whether for money or not, are questions which we are not furnished with any means of answering. Moreover, when did the Register, Diary and *Antiquitates* appear? We deny that they appeared at the same time.

must be forged because they fit the case too accurately. In order to shew that they are forged, he relies on the legal opinions of his friend Hardouin, who by his own confession has led him into one blunder, and who does not know the difference between the records of Parliament and the records of the great seal. But let him look at his own pardon; it is for erasing and interlining, which every one knows to be possible; but what sort of erasing and interlining, is it to forge six documents and get them upon the records of one day, or to counterfeit all the register of an entire episcopate? His [illegible] argument is, that the fact of the forgery having been asserted by those whom he falsely calls "Catholics," forms "a very legitimate prejudice against them." Now, these men had the interests of their party to uphold, and they had no better means of judging than other people. We believe that the Pope himself is not infallible *in matters of fact*, and we are very sure that his followers are not. A legitimate prejudice! My bitter enemy, who is endeavouring to get possession of my estate, undertakes to say that my title deeds are forged, and this is a legitimate prejudice against them! The very next paragraph reminds us of the value of the opinions or assertions of these self-styled "Catholics." Our author there speaks of the forms of ordination of the Church of England as being "Presbyterian." He and other self-styled "Catholics" have been echoing this assertion to one another for above two centuries, and yet the forms of the Church of England are less "Presbyterian" than their own, as we shewed in an article in "The True Catholic" for November, 1848. These men have again and again alleged that the words of consecration of bishops, in the Anglican Ordinal, were equally fitted for confirming children, and alleged it as a ground for denying the validity of Anglican Ordinations. Yet the charge was literally true of the Roman form; and they knew it well.

The paragraph which we have now reached, and which occupies part of pages 114, and 115, is a very remarkable one.

It commences with the assertion that Elizabeth retained Episcopacy for state purposes, inferring that it was indifferent to her whether the bishops were validly consecrated or not. Yet before it closes we are told; that, "circumstances had changed, and in the time of James I. whose axiom was 'no bishop no king,' the crown and the prelacy had no object more at heart than to establish a fact, which forty years before, had been deemed of little or no importance."—*p.* 115. That is to say, Elizabeth wanted bishops for state purposes, and therefore did not care whether they were consecrated or not. James wanted them for state purposes too, and this change of circumstances was so great, that both he and the bishops thought it worth while to commit multiplied forgeries, to persuade people that those bishops had been really consecrated, whom Elizabeth did not care to have consecrated. Nor is this all, he goes on immediately; "Whether these records, which were first publicly referred to by Mason, were then first composed, or whether, as is not improbable, they date from an earlier period, and were kept in a prudent reserve for times when, having contracted somewhat of the rust of age, they could be more securely produced it is not material to inquire."—*p.* 115. There is then no doubt that they were forged to gratify James I. but the doubt is whether they were forged when they were wanted, or many years before, the forgers foreseeing that a king would arise, whose maxim would be "no bishop no king!" and for whom consequently the counterfeit bishops of Elizabeth, would not do, and who would therefore require forged documents to prove them genuine! In the same paragraph we find the following sentence: "The English Episcopacy was retained by Elizabeth for state purposes; its superiority over the priesthood—if the word be allowable—of the Anglican Church, was cautiously asserted at an advanced period of her reign."—*p.* 114. He here, pursuing his settled policy, *non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, insinuates the old falsehood, that the superiority of bishops to

priests, was not asserted in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. He well knows that it was asserted in the ordinal of Edward VI. Then follows the old tale of the alteration of that ordinal in 1662, for the purpose of removing an objection which he affects to consider fatal, although he knows that, if it be an objection, it applies as forcibly to the Romish Pontifical as to the Anglican Ordinal. Towards the close of the paragraph, he recurs to the assertion that the records were not publicly appealed to, when the fact of the consecration of the Anglican bishops was first denied. We shall treat this subject at our own time; for the present, it is enough to say that where no specific fact was alleged, a general assertion of the consecration was enough, without publishing the evidence.

He then gives a quotation from Mason, in which that writer speaks of a conversation between Hart and Rainolds, in which the former is said to have denied the fact of the consecration; "but when he heard his answer justifying our bishops by authentical records, he would needs have the whole point left out of the conference, saying he would not press him with it, and confessed he thought no such thing could have been shewed, and that himself had been borne in hand otherwise." *Mason, apud Kenrick. pp.* 115, 116. To this quotation our author appends the following note,— "In the margin Mason gives his authorities for this statement, an original letter in his possession, and a *viva voce* relation, by, I believe, Rainolds to himself; surely it cannot be necessary to remark on the insufficiency of this proof, and on the extreme improbability of Rainolds' acquiescence in Hart's request." The proof is of course worthless, in Archbishop Kenrick's opinion; for it rests on the veracity of Mason, and Mason was a Protestant.

He then says:

"To the argument derived from the conformity of dates, and a multiplicity of episcopal acts registered in this book, as also in the diocesan registers of the province of Canterbury, it may very reasonably be re-

plied, that this conformity might exist, although the act of Parker's consecration he not genuine: as nothing obliges us to reject the whole register as a fabrication. But then, it is said, the record of Parker's consecration, of which there are said to be two originals, is in the same handwriting with what goes before and follows. A pasage in a letter from an Anglican prelate to Courayer, gave occasion to Le Quien and Hardouin to regard the whole volume as in the same hand writing, and, consequently as more like a copy made at once, than a register, which had been written at different times during more than fifteen years. Courayer answered, that by the same hand—la mesme main—(the expression used), he did not mean the same handwriting, as if all written by one person, but the same character or style of writing. This was, evidently, a shift, and Hardouin observes very justly, that if the Register, from beginning to end, is in the same character, it is not easy to say that it is not by the same hand. Besides, it professes to be written by at least two different persons." *pp.* 116, 117.

To this text he annexes two[d] foot notes, the first, at the end of the second sentence,—is as follows:

"'Perhaps I ought to explain what is here meant by *two originals.* The transactions recorded in the register were, in the first instance, inscribed on loose sheets; and afterwards, when the papers became sufficiently numerous, were transcribed into a volume. The sheet containing the original memorandum of Parker's consecration, is that which is preserved at Cambridge. The entry on the register at Lambeth is *copied from this*, and among other marks of authenticity, evidently written by the same hand, and with the same ink, as those which precede and follow it.'—Tierney, note to Dodd, II. App. cclxxxviii. On this I may remark, that registers are not ordinarily bound *after*, but *before* they are used. It is this circumstance that affords a guarantee of their fidelity.—*p.* 116

Now on this remark we have to observe that nothing has been said about the Register's having been bound after it was used. His own authority, tells us that the transactions were in the first instance inscribed on loose sheets, "but he

[d] There are strictly three notes; but the third contains nothing but a French version of part of what the second contains in English. We have therefore taken no notice of it except in this note.

does not say that these loose sheets were afterwards *bound*, but that when they "became sufficiently numerous they were *transcribed* into a volume." Into this volume of course it was impossible to introduce any new matter, except by interlineation, or in blank spaces. Now this is in fact the mode in which all records are made; there is always a rough draft, which when approved is copied into the volume. This accounts for the existence of what Mr. Tierney calls two originals. The Cambridge document is the rough draft. We do not know whether it is so or not; but that is evidently Tierney's notion. Nobody, but Archbishop Kenrick, would for a moment have supposed that Tierney meant that the loose sheets were afterwards bound together. It is true he assumes, somewhat gratuitously, that the documents were not copied until they became sufficiently numerous to fill a volume. It is more probable that the volume was provided, and the documents, when they had been prepared on loose sheets and approved, transcribed into it until it was full. That this was the case with Parker's register, will sufficiently appear by reference to the account of the volume given by Mr. Haddan, in his edition of Bramhall, vol. iii. *p.* 173. *note* a, reprinted in our former volume of Essays, *pp.* 62, 63.

The other note, is from the words "fifteen years," and is as follows:

"And this prelate sent me a certificate in his letter of the 21st Feb. old style 1721–2. that the hand-writing is of the same time and by the same hand, with the rest of the following acts in this register; so that if these first are false, we must presume the same of all the others; and the same must be supposed of those that regard matters purely civil, which is an assertion not to be supported. 'I answer,' says Archbishop Wake, 'that you may depend upon it, that the whole of the entry of Mathew Parker's consecration, with all the incidents relating to it in my registers, are written in the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his archiepiscopate, and all at the time that they were done. —Courayer, Williams' translation, p. 38.—*p.* 116." *See also Williams' Courayer, Ed.* 1728, *pp.* 39, 40.

We suppose that what our author says about the whole register being in one hand, is an instance of what he elsewhere calls "strict construction," that is, construing a man's words so as to make him contradict himself or somebody else. If Archbishop Wake's letter, which is the original authority, is to be construed to mean that the documents were, throughout Parker's whole Episcopate, copied in the hand-writing of the same individual, it is a very strange addition to it, that they were all written at the time at which they were done. But if it be understood to mean the same style of hand-writing, which was appropriate to the period, then it would appear by that writing that they were made at the time, that is, at the period, at which they were done. But that they were entered at any particular moment within that period, could not be collected from the writing on any construction of the words. Courayer's shift is then no shift at all, but the truth. As to Hardouin's remark, that author is fond of dogmatizing about what he does not understand; if he is fairly represented by his friend Archbishop Kenrick. This is an instance of it. It might not be easy for him, in looking at an ancient writing in which the same general character is preserved, to see whether it has all been written by the same hand. We know that it would not be easy for us; but we know also that to persons conversant with such matters, it is not difficult. But it is not necessary to go back to the times of Wake and Courayer, to get an account of this volume, which is still extant, and is not all in one hand-writing. Mr. Haddan tells us that the record of Parker's consecration is proved to be "an original portion of the volume to which it belongs" by the hand-writing, which is the same with that of immediately subsequent entries, (the marginal headings above given, being an addition in another hand, and eight or ten corrections for the most part of no importance—all marked in the present reprint, and the paragraphs at the foot of folio 2. C. 3. b—below, pages 175,

179 in italics—being added in a third hand.") *Bramhall's Works, vol. III. pp.* 173–4 *Oxford*, 1844.

This brings us back to our quotation from Archbishop Kenrick's text: In the beginning of which he tells us that "nothing obliges us to reject the whole register," of Parker, "as a fabrication." But if the whole be not a fabrication, he assumes the burden of proving that the particular entry of Parker's consecration is so. We know no better answer that can be given to this, than the note of Mr. Haddan, from which we have already made several quotations, and which we give at the foot of the page. The references are of course to the pages of his edition of Bramhall, not to ours.

[e The record here printed occupies from the 2nd to the 11th leaf (inclus.) of vol. i. of Abp. Parker's Register, the 1st leaf being emblazoned with his arms and motto, and the 2nd containing the title of the entire volume (the first paragraph above printed) engrossed in large capitals. The remainder of the volume consists of, 1. succeeding *Confirmations and Consecrations* up to those of Edm. Freake to the see of Rochester (March 3 and 9, 1571–2) inclus., fol. 12. a—145 b. (the concluding portion of Freake's record being entered, for want of room, in a later page, fol. 213. b—214. b,) 2. *Inductions, &c.* by the Abp. in different sees of his province during their *Vacancies*, within a similar period, fol. 146. a—213. b, 3. *Commissions* during a similar period, including accounts of *Ordinations*, first, up to May 28, 1560, while Anthony Huse was primary Registrar, fol. 217. a—221. a, next from June 2, 1560, while John Incent held the same office, fol. 221. a—299, b, 4. *Visitations*, fol. 301. b—339. b, 5. *Inductions*, &c. within the Abp.'s own diocese during a similar period, fol. 340. a—411. a, being the end of the volume. A second volume continues all five classes of entries to the close of Parker's Primacy, including also the register of the see between Parker's death and Whitgift's appointment. Both are entire volumes, and not (as is Cranmer's) collections of loose leaves bound together at the Archbishop's death; which is proved of vol. i. by the record of Freake's consecration above mentioned.

That the record here printed is an original portion of the volume to which it belongs, is proved,—1. by the reference to it for details of arrangement and form of consecration employed, in the records of twelve

He next answers an argument for the genuiness of the register from a supposed reference to it, in the act of 1566,

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succeeding consecrations, the last in fol. 80. a—2. by its agreement with the entries under the several "Vacancies" above mentioned, the earliest acts of jurisdiction by Parker (among some hundreds) bearing date Dec. 11 and 12, 1559, (viz. Probate of Will in Lincoln dioc., fol. 150. a, and Institut. of John Oxenbridge to Church of Llanynis, Bangor dioc., fol. 148. a,) i. e. two and three days after the date assigned to Parker's confirmation,—3. by its agreement with the Commissions entered under the 3rd head above mentioned, of which the earliest is dated Dec. 20, 1559,—4. by the handwriting, which is the same with that of the immediately subsequent entries (the marginal headings above given being an addition in another hand, and eight or ten corrections, for the most part of no importance,—all marked in the present reprint,—and the paragraphs at the foot of fol. 2. b, 3. b,—below pp. 175, 179, in italics,—being added in a third hand,)—and 5, by the paging. The genuineness of the entire volume is proved (to say nothing of the absurdity of supposing a folio volume of 411 leaves, filled with matter so multifarious and circumstantial, to be a forgery) by the non-existence of any other register of Parker's Archiepiscopal acts, by the agreement of this in handwriting and appearance with what it professes to be, by the minute consistency of its several parts with one another (e. g. the dates under the "Vacancies" of the several sees exactly tallying with the dates assigned to the several consecrations which filled up each vacancy,—see the separate notes to the 1st Table added below at the end of these Records,) by its exact correspondence in the *order* of consecrations recorded with the order of precedence among the several Bishops concerned, in Convocation and in Parliament (see at the end of the same Table,) by its equally exact correspondence in a multiplicity of names and dates with the Registers of the Chapters of the several sees of the province and with the Rolls (see the same Table for a specimen,) by the detailed references to it in the Life of Parker in the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. (1572,) and from thence in Holinshead in 1586, and by its agreement with all that is known from other sources of the several Bishops and other persons mentioned (see e. g. the separate notes to the same Table.) That the last three arguments apply also directly to the particular record of Parker's confirmation, &c., here printed, see the notes to Parker's name in the same Table, and below pp. 173. note n,

8th Eliz. by saying that the passage in the act does not refer to the register. In this we believe that he is right; but we suppose he is following his blundering friend Hardouin, when he says that the records referred to are those of the Parliament. There are no such records to refer to, bearing on this question; the records meant, are those of the great seal, which Hardouin has before mistaken for those of Parliament.

After this argument follows immediately the following paragraphs:

"Three registers are produced by Courayer, in corroboration of the authenticity of that of Lambeth.—the register of the Chapter before Parker's promotion; the register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury before and after that event: and the register of those who died intestate

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179. p. 192–193. z—l, 198. s, 199–200. v—d, 205. p. 206. w, which will supply some further details pointing the same way.

The objections to the genuineness of that record rest either upon misprints in the folio edition of Bramhall's works (e. g. note b, below,) or upon the mistake in the Rolls noticed below p. 178. note n, or upon the additional sentences, printed here in italics, in pp. 175, 179, or upon the assertion, that the Register was not produced, although called for, until the time of Mason, when the witnesses were all dead, the truth being that it *was* quoted, although *not* called for, in 1572 and 1586, and referred to in 1565, although undoubtedly not printed at length so as to publish the witnesses' names until 1676, or lastly upon the misquotations of Butler, Sutcliffe, and the (confessedly inaccurate) first edition of Godwin (see above p. 134, notes f, h, i.)

It is reprinted here from the original Register, the contractions, stops, and orthography, being retained with as much exactness as in so long a record and with ordinary types is attainable.

The record of the consecration of Parker, headed Rituum et Ceremonarium Ordo, &c. (below pp. 203—205,) has been printed also by Percival (appendix A.;) and the whole record was printed (for the first time) at the end of the folio edition of Bramhall's works in 1676, 7; and collated for Courayer in 1725. See below p. 210.]—*Bramhall's Works, vol. iii. pp.* 173–4, *note* a.

from the date of Parker's confirmation. The register of the chapter was, it is said, providentially saved from fire, by which so many others had been destroyed.

"The register of the Chapter of Canterbury is appealed to as a confirmation of that of Parker. The Chapter appears to have exercised jurisdiction until the 8th of December, and as Parker was confirmed on the 9th, and consecrated on the 17th, this coincidence is a strong confirmation of the fact."—*p.* 117.

He proceeds to get rid of this strong confirmation, as he best can, with the aid of the indispensable Hardouin. On his authority, we are told "that the register of the Chapter ought not to have ceased on the eighth of December, that the chapter retained jurisdiction until the inthronization of Parker, which necessarily followed his consecration and which is only made, as Courayer elsewhere maintains, on the certificate of consecration." *Kenrick, pp.* 117,—118. To this we answer that it is not true that the chapter retained jurisdiction until the inthronization, and M. Hardouin's assertion that it did, only proves his own ignorance and recklessness. Archbishop Kenrick endeavours in the next page to help him out, by saying that, "All these registers are open to the objection that they recognize the Archbishop too soon, before his consecration and installation, up to which time, according to Bramhall, the chapter's jurisdiction continued, and consequently the chapter's register ought to continue also, and before his recovery of his temporalities, which Hardouin says is a necessary preliminary to his appointing the officers of the Prerogative Court." *page*, 119. This is another of Hardouin's blunders to which we shall return; at present our business is with Archbishop Kenrick. He cites Bramhall for a particular position, but he does not tell us where Bramhall has asserted it. In a note on the preceding page Bramhall is cited, and we doubt not correctly, for the proposition that inthronization follows consecration, which nobody will deny; but he does not say there that the jurisdiction of the chapter continued till inthronization. We suspect he knew better; for the truth

is that the jurisdiction of the chapter terminates at the confirmation of the new archbishop.

This objection is renewed to the second record, with the additional one that the proceeding "should not be in the name of the Archbishop, until he had sued out the writ for the recovery of his temporalities." This is a greater blunthan the other. The prerogative court is none of the temporalities; if it were, the dean and chapter would have nothing to do with it; for they are only guardians of the spiritualities. But after election and confirmation, the bishop is fully invested with a right to exercise all spiritual jurisdiction, and consequently the power of the guardian of the spiritualities ceaseth. We insert in the margin abundant proof of all which we have been saying. And if this

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"When a bishop dies or is translated, or is employed beyond the seas, in negotiations for the service of the King and Kingdom. The law takes care to provide a guardian as to the spiritual jurisdiction, during such vacancy of the see, or remote absence of the bishop, to whom presentations may be made, and by whom institutions, admissions and the like may be given; And this is that ecclesiastical officer, whether he be the Archbishop, or his vicar general, or deans and chapters in whom the office resides, whom we commonly call the guardian of the spiritualities. *God. Introd.* 9, *God* 39."—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law. Vol.* I. *p.* 205, *sub voce Bishop.* V. 1.

"When an archiepiscopal see is vacant, the dean and chapter are the guardians of the spiritualities; that is, the spiritual jurisdiction of his province and diocese is committed to them. *God*, 41."—*Ibid. p.* 206, *voce Bishop* V. 2.

"After election and confirmation (and not before,) the bishop is fully invested with a right to exercise all spiritual jurisdiction; and consequently then the power of the guardian of the spiritualities ceaseth. *Gibson.* 114."—*Ibid. p.* 206, *voce Bishop.* V. 5.

"A bishop's temporalities are all such things as the bishops have by livery from the king, as castles, manors, lands, tenements, tithes and such other certainties of which the king is answered during the vacation. *Wats*, c. 40." *Ibid. voce Bishop* VI. 1.

"The custody of the temporalities of every archbishopric and bish-

be insufficient, Archbishop Kenrick has, himself, furnished us with more. He tells us, on page 236, of his second edition, that, "One who has received confirmation for a diocese, which he has been appointed to govern as bishop, has by the very fact, plenary episcopal jurisdiction before he receives episcopal consecration, and can do every thing, except those acts which require the episcopal character,—which belong not to jurisdiction—equally before, as after having been consecrated."

The same objections are stated against the third register, and no others exist, except indeed, that it is said, that Parker's confirmation could not have been known at Canterbury on the 9th. We suspect that the notion that the Prerogative

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opric within the realm, and of such abbies, and priories as were of the king's foundation, after the same became void, belonged to the king during the vacation thereof, by his prerogative; for as the spiritualities belonged during that time to the dean and chapter of common right, or to some other ecclesiastical person by prescription or composition; so the temporalities came to the King, being patron and protector of the Church, in so high a prerogative incident to his crown, as no subject can claim the temporalities of an archbishopric or bishopric when they fall, by grant, or prescription. 2. *Inst.* 15."—*Ibid.* 206, 207, *voce Bishop*, VI. 2.

Moreover, Van Espen says: "Hinc concludunt canonistæ, et communis praxis probat, Episcopum *confirmatum non consecratum*, posse plenarie jurisdictionem suam exercere; eaque omnia quæ ad curam pastoralem et episcopalem pertinent, agere, exceptis his duntaxat, quæ ordinis seu caracteris sunt episcopalis; qualia sunt Ordines Sacros *per se* conferre; chrisma conficere, Sacramentum Confirmationis dare, &c. Ita decrevit Celestinus III." *Jus Ecc. Univ. Pars I. Tit. XIV. cap. v.* § 10. In English: "From this the canonists have inferred, and the common practice proves it, that a bishop confirmed, but not consecrated, can fully exercise his jurisdiction, and can do all those things which belong to his pastoral and episcopal cure, except only those which belong to his episcopal order or character; such things are to confer Holy Orders, by his own hands, to make the Chrism, to give the Sacrament of Confirmation, &c. So Celestinus III. decreed."

Court at Canterbury is another of Hardouin's blunders: we know that it now sits at Doctor's Commons in London, and it is probable it did so in Elizabeth's time. But apart from this; there are two other sufficient answers to his argument. In the first place; it was of course known beforehand when the confirmation was to take place, and the officers could, if necessary, defer making a copy, until they had heard whether the ceremony had actually proceeded. And again; although the title of the book states it to begin from the 9th, the first entry is not made until the 13th, so that there was ample time to have prepared the book after the 9th, before it was wanted. The Archbishop, however, cannot consent to fight his battle entirely with Hardouin's weapons. He winds up the argument by saying: "Not the least extraordinary feature in this controversy, is, that the mysterious silence regarding documentary evidence when called for in the first fifty years after the supposed consecration of Parker, should be followed by so many registers, etc. the number of which contrary to the ordinary course of things seems to increase with time." p. 119.

This is a very ingenious piece of insinuation. The "mysterious silence" is suppositious; the call for documentary evidence was never made; but the most important feature of the sentence, is the insinuation that forgeries have been made from time to time, down to the present, to sustain Parker's consecration. Now, the truth is, that the constant cry of "forgery" has put men to investigating registers, which existed before, and which were well known to exist; but the contents of which were not known, and which were not cited, because they were not supposed to have any bearing on the controversy. Parker's register, was enough to prove itself, in all fairness; but when its genuineness was denied, and not till then, men looked about for documents, by comparison with which its authenticity might

[a] See British Almanac, 1843, p. 79.

be proved. It is not to be wondered at, that every succeeding writer found more and more; although it is, that a Christian bishop, should ground an insinuation of forgery on such a fact. But these forgers, from time to time, must have been miraculously skilful, to have made their successive forgeries fit each other so well as they do.

Although we are under no necessity, as we are told by our author, to reject the whole of Parker's register, he goes out of his way to retail another charge of forgery of the blunderer Hardouin, in a note on page 118. Courayer had said, "The register of the chapter of Canterbury, during the vacancy of the metropolitan see, after Parker's death, has been bound up with the second volume of Parker's register, which was rather thin." Upon this, Hardouin remarks, with a degree of charity and accuracy worthy of himself: "This shows very clearly that one and the same fabricator made them both; for that of the Archbishop and that of the chapter ought to have been bound separately before any thing was written in either of them, and ought to have been kept in different archives." They ought not; both were registers of the see of Canterbury, one under an Archbishop, the other under the guardian of the spiritualities, and therefore they ought to have been kept in the same archives. As to their being bound together, that fact would not have proved that they had not before been bound separately. But what motive had any "fabricator" to unite these books? They have nothing to do with this controversy. All the records relating to the disputed consecrations are in the first volume; while the records of the chapter after Parker's death, can by no possibility have any bearing on facts which occurred fifteen years before. But it seems probable from the manner in which Mr. Haddan speaks of this volume, that the registrar, during the vacancy of the see, used the book which had been prepared for Archbishop Parker, and which he had not lived to fill. See the note copied from him on p. 68.

Immediately after the insinuation, which we copied a few lines above, our author remarks:

"The extrinsic evidence adduced to establish the authenticity of the register, will be examined in detail in the third section of this chapter. It is enough, for the present, to state that there is not a single item of that evidence, so far as it is clear, which is not matter of controversy."—*p.* 119.

This is perfectly characteristic; he thinks it is only necessary for him to say that a piece of evidence is "matter of controversy" to render it worthless. Accordingly, whenever a piece of evidence which is clear is produced, he adopts that course. But we shall in time come to this examination.

We have now done, for the present, with the seemingly endless task of defeating the Archbishop's light skirmishers, and have reached his main battle, his direct attack on the Lambeth record. His arguments he divides into three classes.

"1. Intrinsic evidences of fabrication.

"2. Facts which are inconsistent with the statements in the Register.

"3. Silence regarding the fact recorded, in circumstances which would naturally have called forth a distinct statement of it."—*p.* 120.

The policy of Archbishop Kenrick is to multiply small objections. Of this fact any one will be convinced who has followed us through what we have already written; especially if he should have carefully compared, as we wish all our readers to do, the work of the Archbishop with our reply. Taking this fact, in connexion with another, that he has only discovered nine "intrinsic" evidences of fabrication in the much contested register of Parker, we console ourselves with the reflection that the case cannot be a very bad one, and that when we have answered his nine objections, we shall have answered all that can be found. In this notion we are farther confirmed, when we discover the trivial, and even absurd, character of some of these objections.

I. The first of the nine is, "the extreme and unusual minuteness of the record." Now, this fact rather makes a

different impression upon us; and we should have thought that few men understood more fully than our author, the force of the old adage, "*dolus latet in generalibus*," i. e. fraud lurks in generalities. This minuteness and other circumstances, our author thinks, "suggest the idea of one who was recording an event which he knew would one day be a subject of sharp controversy, and who endeavored to screen his work from the imputation of having been made in later times by this extraordinary circumstantiality of detail."—p. 120.

Now, if we were making a false tale, we should put as few circumstances into it as possible; because the more circumstances, the more means of detection. If we were detailing a true account, which we knew was of great importance, and of which the truth might one day come to be closely investigated, we should be minute; because by our minuteness our truth might come to be proved. But this forgery was committed after all means of testing the circumstances had been lost? In that case, if we had been the forger, we should have adhered to the beaten track and simply followed some known form. Archbishop Kenrick actually uses this argument against this very record. The account of the consecration is too minute to be true. The account of the election is forged, because it follows the established form! Which is the true principle? But, if we adopt the notion of a late forgery, we must take our choice of two difficulties. We must either believe that the record of Parker's election, consecration and confirmation, and the other matters connected with him, have been foisted into an old volume, which we think whoever reads our note, (at page 68, will agree with us is impossible;) or we must suppose the whole volume forged, which even our author thinks very improbable, and not to be believed without strong motives; and which we think a more impartial investigator, would pronounce impossible, unless so many other records of the great seal and of the English Bishops, had also been forged as to render the notion ridiculous. Among the circumstan-

ces of suspicion to which he alludes, our author mentions the early hour, the fact that the Queen deputed six lawyers to

[a] Of this story of the six lawyers sent by the Queen "to attend at the ceremony, and report to her whether all things were rightly done," there is no trace in the register, as any one who will read over our author's own translation of it may easily satisfy himself. In fact, our author does not venture to say that it is in the register, but only that it is "what is stated elsewhere." To produce it, then, as *intrinsic* evidence of fabrication is simply absurd; nor is it much better to produce it as any evidence of fabrication at all. Suppose it were stated ever so often, we believe it has only been stated, by our author himself, how could it discredit the register? To produce that effect, it must be shewn, either that it is false and stated in the register, or true and inconsistent with the register. But it is conceded that it is not in the register; therefore it cannot by its falsehood discredit that document. It may or may not be true, but it is not inconsistent with any thing in the register, so that on that ground it can produce no effect. There is only one way of reconciling the use of this argument to our author's known intelligence; and that is by supposing that he intended to use it, as Ward used a similar tale, to discredit the register by its absurdity; alleging, as Ward did, that it was contained in that document. But while correcting the proofs, he recollected that it was not in the register, and hastily inserted the words, "what is stated elsewhere," without perceiving, in his hurry, that they demolished his argument. Had he taken a moment to reflect, he must have seen that, if the story were true, it involved the truth of the consecration; if it were false, it involved the probability that a consecration had taken place, as a foundation for the fiction, unless it were made for the purpose of discrediting the register; in which case, it would only prove the desire of its authors to get rid of that instrument, and the difficulty which they found in doing so.

The pedigree of this tale is rather curious. In Bramhall, *(See Works, vol. III. pages* 93 *and* 99, *and Mr. Haddan's notes on the place,)* we learn, that about the year 1603, one Mr. Higgins, a clergyman, was induced, through his belief of the Nag's Head fiction, to turn Romanist and go to the continent. There he met with a Mr. Clarke, also an English Romanist. Having mentioned his difficulty, Clarke told him that "he wished that what their authors had written could be made good, confessing that he himself was in England at that time, (the

attend the ceremony, which does not appear in the record, and Coverdale's woollen gown. Now, the record is not answerable for the lawyers, whom it does not mention; and as to the early hour, if it be a suspicious circumstance it would not have been mentioned by a forger. The man who had skill to forge this record had also skill to fix the time at a probable hour. The record does not say, "five or six o'clock in the morning," but about the fifth or sixth, hour being understood. If this is to be understood of the ecclesiastical

witness does not positively remember whether at the consecration or not.) But Mr. Clarke said that he himself was present when the advocate of the Arches, whom the Queen sent to peruse the register after the consecration, and to give her an account whether it was performed canonically, returned his answer, that he had perused the register, and that no just exception could be had against the consecration; but, (he said) something might have been better, particularly that Bishop Coverdale was not in his rochet; but he assured her, 'that could make no defect in the consecration.'" Now, if this story be true, it establishes the fact that the register was made at the time, and is consequently no forgery.

But it struck Mr. Ward, that to insert this story, or something like it into the register, would look very ridiculous; so he inserts it among what he is pleased to call "many insignificant and ridiculous circumstances in these records, such as become not the gravity of such a relation, and consequently quite destroy the credit of these records."—*See Williams, pp.* 111, 112, *Ed. Lon.* 1721. Ward's whole argument depends upon the fact of the story being in the register; which was his own invention, and is now conceded to be false. In order to make the thing look more absurd, Archbishop Kenrick makes the messengers to be six lawyers, the number undoubtedly being taken from the signatures to the opinion annexed to the *significavit* of Dec. 6; and perceiving that it would not do to assert, as from the register, that the lawyers were sent to read the register, represented them as sent to see the consecration. A capital argument was thus cooked up; which it is a great pity our author spoiled by translating the register. It might have, otherwise, done good service, with those who could not, or would not, read Latin. As it is, it is only an absurdity, which every child can see through.

hours, it is eleven or twelve o'clock in the day. But at any rate, early hours were not so strange to our ancestors in the sixteenth century as to ourselves. As to Coverdale's gown, it is the last circumstance which a forger, engaged in fabricating a record to put down the Puritans, would have mentioned. The vestments were an important part of the Puritan controversy; and no High-Church forger, would have omitted to give the weight of all Parker's consecrators to his own side of that question.

2. The second objection is, "a great variety among those who quote the register, as to the number of bishops present on the occasion, and the name of one of them." p. 120. It is a strange use of language, to call the fact that a document has been misquoted, an intrinsic evidence of falsehood; but it is a still stranger use of logic, to consider such a fact, any evidence of fabrication at all. Surely, as we have remarked on a former occasion, a genuine document is as like to be misquoted as a forged one.

3. The third objection is derived from the word, *tunc*, then, in the title of the record book. Our author thinks that this word shews "that it was written sometime after Anthony Huse had ceased to be registrar."—p. 121. It seems to us more likely that the writer placed himself in the position of the future reader. The title is not that of the particular record of Parker's consecration, as our author seems to suppose, but of the whole volume. It has therefore no special reference to December 17th, 1559, more than to any other part of the volume. The expression means that Huse was at the period of the events recorded in that volume registrar. That is, he was when he, or his clerk, wrote the title, and, like most other men, he did not expect to die; still, he did die, before the book was finished, and so, by matter *ex post facto*, the title became an untrue one. Whether this be the true solution or not, the same expression occurs in the title to the register of the dean and chapter. The Archbishop will say that that is a proof that

they were forged by the same hand. We say it is a proof that they were dictated by the same mind, that of Anthony Huse. That neither was forged is abundantly proved by their coincidences, not only with each other, but with many other documents. This objection goes, not on the ground of an interpolation of the matters about Parker, but on that of a forgery of the whole volume; which is much more improbable than that our author, or any other man, should be mistaken in his criticism upon a single word.

4. The fourth objection is founded on two memorandums of the deaths of Parker and Huse, on the second page of the register. Mr. Haddan says, "These two paragraphs are inserted in the third hand above mentioned," see note, (e) p. 69 "and with a different ink, and in a blank space at the foot of a page. There is a similar entry of Grindall's death in the commencement of his Register, as Archbishop of Canterbury." *Bramhall's Works, Vol. III. p.* 175. *note e.* One thing is very clear from this statement, that these paragraphs neither are, nor pretend to be, any part of the record. That they were avowedly written after the rest of the book. As a proof of forgery, then, they are nothing. An interpolation made after a book is written does not prove that book a forgery. The interpolation itself may be proper or improper, and may state truth or falsehood; but it stands on its own merits, and cannot affect the book to which it is an addition. But the facts upon which this objection rests, really look the other way. The memorandum is shewn by intrinsic evidence to have been written after the rest of the book, whether that were forged or not. What was its object? To perpetuate the dates of the deaths of Parker and Huse? For what purpose? The forger did not want them. The events to which he was looking related to a period of fifteen years before Parker's death. Huse was nothing to him. Why then insert them? The evidence is that he did not. They were then inserted afterwards. For what reason? None, we think, can be imagined, but that at the

time the memorandum was made the events were recent. The forgery, if any was committed, was then fabricated before the death of Huse, that is, within less than six months after its date. A fact which overthrows all our author's theories. Our author, page 121, asserts, that the forger added this clause "to intimate that the register was the work of two registrars," and thus "remove the objection which the similarity of character in the whole register would afford of its fabrication." A very silly precaution; the effect of which would be to bring to the mind of the reader the fact that there had been, during the period covered by the book, two principal registrars, and therefore, assuming that the book was in the hand-writing of the principal registrars, to render more glaring the absurdity of its being all in one hand. Did Archbishop Kenrick ever know any body, who when he saw a whole book before his eyes plainly in one hand-writing, would believe it was in two, because he was told so? But about this matter of hand-writing; we have some knowledge of public offices, and we are not in the habit of expecting to find the records in the hand-writing of the principals. Huse was principal and first registrar; but the writing was probably done by his subalterns. The discrepancy between this memorandum of Parker's death and the formal record of it at the end of the register, only proves, at most, that the memorandum at the beginning was made hastily and without sufficient information; but as that memorandum is no part of the record, that does not affect the record. We care not if these memoranda, being, as they are, manifestly additions, were proved to have been made yesterday.

5. The fifth objection is, that there is a mistake in the two copies of the *significavit*; one at the Rolls, and the other in the register; in both which Bishop Hodgeskin is called Richard instead of John. Mr Haddan's argument is, "It stands *Richard* in the Roll and therefore (most probably) in the original patent, whence arises a strong presumption for

the genuiness of the register." To this Archbishop Kenrick replies, "But if, as may have been the case, the copy of the Rolls was made from that of the register, this co-incidence in error affords no argument in favour of the latter's authenticity, Parker's supposed book, *De Antiquitate*, calls him Richard of Bedford. It was very strange that the same error should be found in three documents which are supposed to be by different hands."—*p.* 123. Now, this is one of our author's groundless insinuations. The copy at the Rolls and that in the register are both, avowedly, necessarily, copies from the same original, the document to which the great seal was affixed. Their agreement then even in an error, shews that they are both faithful copies, their disagreement even in error would shew that one was unfaithful. This accounts for all the phenomena, and our author's insinuation that the copy at the Rolls was made from the register is purely gratuitous. The genuineness of the copy at the Rolls we have already abundantly proved. As to Parker's book, [illegible] more than our author, that we can readily conceive that whether Parker, or his chaplain, was the author, he was not so sure of Hodgeskin's Christian name as not to give way to an official document, which, perhaps, he had before him. The mistake in an official document, is certainly unusual; but it is not more likely to be made by such a skilful forger as our author's theory supposes. We are next treated to another of Hardouin's wild conjectures, which is in truth utterly foreign to the subject, and which we only notice for the sake of the remark we are now to make. Archbishop Kenrick takes occasion of the name of John Salisbury, Suffragan of Thetford, having been mentioned, to speak of his appointment to the see of Sodor and Man. In the writ on that occasion, he informs us, that Salisbury is said to have been consecrated. The words are, "*alias in episcopum rite et legitime ordinatum et consecratum.*"—p. 123, which he translates, "already rightfully and lawfully consecrated bishop." "Hence," says

he, "it is inferred that he must have been consecrated under Elizabeth, as the Queen would not have spoken of his consecration in 1535, according to the Roman Pontifical, in the above terms." Now, he well knows that no intelligent member of the Church of England, ever doubted that consecrations according to the Roman Pontifical were "rightful," valid, sufficient, or that in 1535, when it was established by law in England, that such consecrations were lawful.—Some superstitious words and ceremonies may be found in the Pontifical, but it contains every thing requisite to a valid consecration, and was lawful in the sense of not being against any law of the Church or state in the reign of Henry VIII. What does he mean by this? Simply to insinuate, against the universally known truth, that the Church of England denied the orders of Cranmer and the other reforming bishops, and has therefore no right to claim the benefit of them.

6. The sixth objection is, that there is no date to the opinion of the six lawyers as to the validity of the *significavit* of December 6th. This is an absurd objection. A lawyer's opinion is neither the better or worse for a date, and there is no steady practice about dating them or not. This one appears to have been affixed to the *significavit*, and therefore required no date. Coupled with this objection, and under the same head, are two others; that there is "no date to the act of Parker's confirmation, which also contains a very suspicious reference to the supplying clause."—p. 124. Now, as to the supplying clause, if the writ in which it is contained be genuine, as we have proved it, there can be nothing suspicious in a reference to it. As to the date, it is a mistake in a matter of fact, into which the Archbishop may have been led by his having only seen the smaller works on this subject, in which the whole act of confirmation, which is very long, is not printed, but only that part of it which is called *sententia diffinitiva*, the definitive sentence. This is the conclusion of a long proceeding, which all takes place in one day, and which at its commencement is very precisely dated. The

very first words in Parker's register, after the title, are the following:

"ACTA HABITA ET FACTA IN NEGOCIO CONFIRMAC'O'IS electionis venerabilis et eximij viri mag'ri Matthei Parker Sacre Theologie professoris in Archie'pum Cantuarien. electi, Nono die mensis Decembris Anno d'ni Mill'imo Quingen'o, Quinquagesimo, nono et Regni felicisimi illustrissime in Xpo. Principis et d'ne n're, d'ne Elizabeth Dei gr'a Angliæ, ffrancie et Hibernie Regine fidei defens. &c. Anno secundo."—*Bramhall's Works, vol.* III. *p.* 175.

Which in English is as follows:

"Acts had and done in the matter of the confirmation of the election of the venerable and excellent man Mr. Matthew Parker, Doctor of sacred theology, elect Archbishop of Canterbury, on the ninth day of the month of December in the year of our LORD one thousand five hundred fifty-nine, and the second year of the reign of the most happy and illustrious in CHRIST princess and our lady, the lady Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c."

7. The seventh objection rests on a blank, for the name of one of the persons appointed to act for the Archbishop in a commission dated, 2d January 1559, 1560. There is a similar blank in the commission from Edmund Gest, Archdeacon of Canterbury for inthronizing Parker. On this Mr. Haddan makes the following remark,—

"See Battely Antiqu. of Cant. Pt. IV. c. iii. The blanks in this and the following document are easily and naturally accounted for, when it is remembered that the regular form, with blanks for the names, as drawn out by the clerk, has been entered in both cases, space being left for copying in the names from the original documents when filled in by Parker or Gest themselves. Nothing is more likely than that an omission of this kind should be overlooked. See Abp. Wake's explanation in Couray., Def. de la Diss, liv. iii. c. 5."—*Bramhall's Works, vol.* III. *p.* 207. *note y.*

To this we shall only add that this seems satisfactorily to account for the omission, on the ground that the register is genuine; if it were forged, there would have been no blanks in it. To this objection, also, there is a supplement, be-

cause ; "It is dated," says our author, "from Lambeth in the diocese of Winchester, whereas the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, although included within the limits of Winchester, is not of the diocese of Winchester, but is immediately subject to Canterbury," p. 124. Our author's whole criticism rests on the distinction between *of* and *in*, the genitive and ablative cases. Yet he himself prints the date in the abbreviated form, *Winton. Dioc.*, page 124, foot note, which may mean either; and it is so in the original. *See Bramhall's Works, III.* 209. But our readers will be better able to judge of the value of the criticism itself by reading the annexed note.

The parish of Lambeth was locally within the diocese of Winchester, but was probably a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury, because of the palace within its bounds, although we are not sure of that fact; because in the statute which we shall presently mention, the district of Lambeth palace is spoken of as an extraparochial place, locally situate, within the limits of the parish. In that case, only the district would have been the peculiar, and accordingly we find that by the statute 6 and 7, Will. IV. passed 13th August 1836, Lambeth parish was, among others, transferred from the diocese of Winchester to that of London. But there is no doubt that the palace was in a peculiar of Canterbury, for the peculiars of Archbishops are said to have "sprung from a privilege they had to enjoy jurisdiction in such places where their seats and possessions were." *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law. sub voce Peculiar, Vol. III. page* 70. Such a peculiar may, however, be, with propriety, said to be of the diocese in which it is situate, for, "In the time of Archbishop Winchelsea, upon an appeal to Rome, in a controversy concerning Pagham, a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury; it was said in the representation to the Pope to be of Canterbury *diocese;* which was objected against in the exceptions on the other side, because in truth and notoriety it is in the diocese of Chichester. Which was a just exception in point of form; because the proper style of those peculiars, as often as they are mentioned in any instruments, is *of or in such a diocese* (namely the diocese in which they are situated) *and of the peculiar and immediate jurisdiction of the archbishop*.—*Gibson*, 979.

We suppose that the next objection will be that the whole legal style

8. The eighth *intrinsic* evidence of fabrication is a mistake of Mason's, who it seems, in his first edition spoke of Parker's election, as having taken place about December, when the register shews that it took place on the 1st of August. Well, Mason was very careless, and did not read the record; but, does that prove the record forged? Mason is considered by those who believe in the forgery to have been privy to it; but if he had, he would have known what it contained.

9. The ninth objection is founded on the fact that the register recites that Parker was elected "according to the ancient and laudable custom of the aforesaid Church as used and observed from former days."—p. 125. This ancient and laudable custom, our author says, was by virtue of a *congé d'élire*, and further that there is sufficient reason to doubt whether a writ of *congé d'élire* issued in the case of Parker." For this doubt he assigns three reasons, the first is; "It is probable that she would imitate her brother's example in this respect, and prefer a nomination by letters patent to a process, which if not a solemn farce, might prove a failure; as the opposition of the greater part of the chapter might be anticipated; and that she did so, Sanders expressly states. She had revived the statute of Edward VI.; by which she was empowered to do so. Why not use this power?" Because she had it not. If Archbishop Kenrick has paid any attention to the Hampden case, he knows that the act of 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20, Bishop Philpot's "Magna Charta of tyranny," is in force to this day, and every English bishop, from Parker to Hampden, has been elected under it; even those, if we are rightly informed, whose sees are of the foundation of Henry VIII. and who might,

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of the peculiar was not inserted in the date. But it is sufficient for us that the style is indifferently of or in, and, moreover, as we have mentioned in the text, the original may be read either way.

He actually states the fact on page 248, of the very volume, in which he asserts an inconsistent fact at page 125.

therefore, have lawfully been nominated by letters patent. We challenge Archbishop Kenrick, to produce the slightest authority for his assertion that the act of 1. Edward VI. was revived by Elizabeth. He has cited none, because he had none to cite. As to what Sanders says, it is of very little consequence, except when it serves, as it does, to discredit the Nag's Head fiction, of which he was worthy to be the inventor; although it was probably not in fact invented until after his death. —When he says, Elizabeth conferred bishoprics by letters patent, he was either deceived, or intended to deceive, or he meant that she conferred them by letters patents, just as Mary did; in whose time, as in Elizabeth's, the writs of *congé d'élire* and *significavit*, both of which are sometimes called letters patents, were in use.

The second reason is that on the day of the date of the *congé d'élire*, Parker is called, in "the warrant for establishment of the Court of High-Commission," "the Right Reverend Father in God, Mathew Parker *nominated* bishop of Canterbury."—p. 125. Now this is very easily understood by any one who knows the course of action under the statute 25 Henry VIII. The *congé d'élire*, which is expressly required by the 4th section of that statute, is accompanied by a letter missive, as it is called, which the statute also requires, in which the sovereign recommends a person to be elected, whom the chapter are compelled to elect. Parker had been nominated in a letter missive accompanying the *congé d'élire*, and of course might well be called "*nominated bishop*." Our author is himself a little puzzled to reconcile his argument with the commission of the 9th September and accordingly says:

"If I am asked to reconcile this with the commission of 9th of September, which I regard as authentic, and which mentions the election by dean and chapter, I can only say, that as that document recites one falsehood, the election of Parker by the dean and chapter, as if no nomination of Parker had proceded from the crown, and as if Parker had been chosen by a majority, when he was elected by a minority of the

chapter,—so it may have been drawn out after some of the older models, and recited an election which never took place."—*p.* 126.

It is strange that he does not see that this is nothing to his purpose; if the recital of a falsehood, does not prove the commission of the 9th September, to be forged, then the recital of the identical falsehood, cannot prove Parker's register to be forged. There is no doubt that if by election is meant, a free election, they both recite a falsehood, and so do all subsequent writs of *significavit*, and all subsequent registers, down to the very last. But that the forms of an election are required, by the statute of 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20, is certain; and nobody but our author has denied that those forms are actually gone through, so that by an election is understood, the form of an election. Taking the word in this sense, both these documents recite a truth. But either way, they must stand or fall together; the same objection which proves one forged cannot leave the other unscathed. He falls into another slip when he speaks of the document reciting a falsehood in reciting the election, "as if Parker had been chosen by a majority, when he was elected by the minority of the chapter." Of course if he were elected, either by a majority or a minority, there was the form of an election, which is the very thing he is labouring to disprove. There is no doubt in the world that the election of Parker was *in form* unanimous. Those who were likely to vote against him, were doubtless deprived beforehand, or, if any remained, they absented themselves from the election. Romanists, who regarded the deprived canons as still members of the chapter, might call that a minority, which included a majority, or all, of those who in an official document could be regarded as members of the chapter.

His third reason for believing that there was no *congé d'élire* in Parker's case, is, that, "Parker's nomination in July will account for his being in possession of Lambeth Palace about midsummer, when, as will appear, Tunstall, deprived Bishop of Durham, was committed to his charge

in that archiepiscopal residence."—p. 126. We do not see the force of this argument, nor do we see that the nomination, as we have explained it, will not just as well account for the possession of the Palace, as if made by Letters Patent framed like those of Edward VI. We would remark, however, that our author admits in this place, that nomination without consecration, will account for the possession of the Palace; and yet, in the very next page he urges that very possession as a proof that Parker's register is forged, because it states a consecration subsequent to that period. But in fact Tunstall was not committed to Parker's charge until September 27th, after Parker's election. Mr. Haddan proves this by referring to the letter from the Privy council to Parker of that date, and corroborates it by referring to two letters of Tunstall himself dated London, Aug. 19th, 1559. See *Bramhall's Works, III.* 231. Moreover, so far is the undoubted fact that Parker lived at Lambeth before his consecration, from throwing any doubt upon the genuineness

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We give the whole of Mr. Haddan's note:

"Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. That this prelate was not deprived until some time subsequent to the date of the first commission for the consecration of Parker, is proved (in addition to the evidence adduced in p. 73. note c) by the following series of letters;—1. Two letters from Tunstall himself, London Aug. 19, 1559, to Cecil and Sir T. Parry, in the State Paper Office,—that he "wold be as glad to serve the Quene's highnes," &c. "as any subjects in y^e realme," but that he would not consent to any such visitation in his diocese as was going on in London, because he "cannot" himself "agree to be a sacramentary;" —2. A letter from the Privy Council to the Abp. of Cant. elect (scil Parker), Hampton Court, Sept 27, 1559 (in C.C.C.C. MSS., vol. 109. p. 61), desiring him to lodge Tunstall in his house, and to confer with him on matters of religion:—3. A letter from Cecil to the same, Oct. 2, 1559 (ibid. p. 67), acquainting Parker, how pleased they were with the hopes he gave them of Tunstall's conformity;—4. A letter from the same to the same, Oct. 5, 1559 (ibid. p. 65), expressing concern that Tunstall would not conform, and hoping that the Qu. would assign him a suitable pension."—*Bramhall's Works, vol.* III *p.* 231.

of his register, that it actually furnishes one of those undesigned coincidences, which are among the strongest proofs of that genuineness. The formal instrument of his acceptance of the Archbishopric which was necessary to his consecration, is of course in his register, and is dated at Lambeth on the seventh of August, 1559. *Bramhall, vol. III. p.* 198. We take occasion here to observe, that the moment that the fact of Parker's possession of Lambeth is carried back beyond the ninth of September, it ceases to answer the purpose for which it is relied on. The object of mentioning it is to shew that the register is forged, because he was in possession of Lambeth as Archbishop, before the date assigned in the register for his consecration. This is inferred to have been, because the Queen, despairing of procuring consecrators for him, had determined to treat him as Archbishop without consecration. But the undisputed *significavit*, or commission, of the ninth of September proves that at that time the Queen had not despaired of having him consecrated. But if she had not despaired of having him consecrated, when his possession of Lambeth Palace commenced, he was not put in possession of it, as an Archbishop acknowledged, and expected to act as such, without consecration, but in anticipation of a consecration, which he expected. The realization of this expectation, the register shews. So that the register is sustained, as well by the consistency of the extraneous fact of the possession with the principal matter, to prove which the register is cited, as by the agreement of the same fact with the date of an important document therein contained.

Our author then recurs to the warrant for the court of High Commission and winds up thus: "The register moreover, contradicts itself in the statement that Parker was elected 'according to the ancient and laudable custom from the beginning.'" Now it may, or may not aver a falsehood; but it does not contradict itself, for it contains no inconsistent averment upon the subject.

We shall now return to the first part of this 9th objection. Our author there says:

"The Register says, that Parker was elected by the Chapter of Canterbury 'according to the ancient and laudable custom of the aforesaid church, used and observed from former days.' The ancient and laudable custom of electing the bishops, by virtue of the writ, called *congé d'élire*, had been abolished by 25 Henry VIII, repealed by 1 Mary; and again abolished by the 1 Elizabeth. Bishops were elected by the chapter, by virtue of letters patent giving them the liberty of electing, *licentiam eligendi*, the persons named in such letters patent." —*p.* 125

There are some strange mistakes in this passage: "The ancient and laudable custom of electing the bishops by *congé d'élire*, was not "abolished by 25 Henry VIII." That act, which we dislike as much as Archbishop Kenrick, only reduced the election to a form, but did not abolish it, and it expressly provided for a writ of *congé d'élire*. But this act was not repealed by 1 Mary, it was repealed by 1 Edward VI. ch. 2; the very statute which our author cites in the same page, and which, as he well knows, and more than once states, did take away the *congé d'élire* and substitute letters patent, nominating at once the person to be appointted bishop. This act of 1 Edward VI. ch. 2, may be seen in the Appendix to our Essays, p. 270. It was this act which was repealed by 1 Mary, session 2, ch. 2, which thereby revived the 25 Henry VIII, ch. 20; which last statute, as every one knows, is still in force. There is another mistake in supposing that the modern *congé d'élire* gives to the electors, "the liberty of electing, *licentiam eligendi*, the person named in such letters patent." The writ of *congé d'élire*† contains no such restriction, as any

† We have, through a kind friend, obtained a copy of the *congé d'élire* for Parker, transcribed from the copy of Rymer in the Philadelphia Library, XV. 536. We give the Latin, with our translation.

De Licentia Eligendi pro Archiepiscopo Cantuar.

Regina, dilectis sibi in Christo, Decano et Capitulo Ecclesiæ Metropoliticæ Cantuariensis, Salutem.

person who can read Latin will find, by turning to the writ issued in Parker's case in our Essays, p. 62, in Rymer XV. 536, or in Mr. Haddan's Bramhall, vol. III, p. 190. In the last book too, may be seen at pages 192–3, an account of the election, with the names of eleven canons who were present. Moreover the act of 25 Henry VIII, ch. 20, directs that the license or *congé d'élire* shall be "as of old time had been accustomed." Our author then falls into another mistake, referring, to the words *licentiam eligendi*, which he has just said are to be found in the letters patent, of which he has

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Exparte vestra Nobis est humiliter supplicatum, ut, cum Ecclesia prædicta, per Mortem naturalem Reverendissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Domini Reginaldi Pole Cardinalis ultimi Archiepiscopi ejusdem, jam vacat et Pastoris sit solatio destituta, alium vobis eligendi in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem Licentiam nostram fundatoriam vobis concedere dignaremur.

Nos, Precibus vestris in hac parte favorabiliter inclinati, Licentiam illam vobis duximus concedendam.

Rogantes quod talem vobis eligatis in Archiepiscopum et Pastorem, qui Deo Devotus, nobisque et Regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat.

In cujus rei, &c.

Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium xviii. die Julii.

Of the license of electing for the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Queen to her beloved in CHRIST the dean and chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury.

There is with us an humble supplication on your part, that whereas the aforesaid Church by the natural death of the Most Reverend Father and Lord in CHRIST, Lord Reginald Pole, Cardinal, the last archbishop thereof, is now vacant and destitute of the solace of a pastor. We would deign to grant to you our license, as your founder, of electing another archbishop and pastor.

We, favorably inclined to your prayers in this behalf, have been led to grant to you that license.

Praying that you may elect such a person, archbishop and pastor, who will be devoted to GOD, and useful and faithful to us and our kingdom.

In testimony of which thing, &c.

Witness the Queen at Westminster, the 18th day of July.

Present Paper B

been speaking, and which we, in common with the law of England, call *congé d'élire,* he goes on thus:

"Mr. Evans seizes on these words, *licentiam eligendi,* which are used in the letters patent, and which are equivalent to the French expression *congé d'élire,* and triumphantly proposes this as an answer to the objection. Were this a correct view of the subject, the ancient custom of electing by virtue of *congé d'élire,* which is acknowledged to have prevailed, need not have been made the subject of three separate acts of Parliament, abolishing it, reviving it, and again abolishing it. —*p.* 125.

In the first place there is a mistake in saying that we quoted the words from the writ of *congé d'élire,* which is what he means by letters patent. We quoted them from his *then* favorite *significavit* of September 9th, in which they are used to recite the fact that a *congé d'élire* did issue for the election of Parker. He had asserted in his first edition, as a reason for believing that the Lambeth register was forged, that the writ of *congé d'élire* was abolished by the act 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20. To disprove this, we referred to the 4th section of that act, translated the portion of the significavit of September 9th, which recites the license, and the election under it, and in which the words *licentiam eligendi* were used. All this may be seen on page 53 of our Essays, and on page 62 we reprinted the *congé d'élire* itself. Of this, and of our reference to the statute, he takes no notice, whatever, and he misstates our quotation from the writ of September, into a mere mention of the words *licentiam eligendi,* as occurring in the *congé d'élire,* which he chooses to call letters patent. Really we hope that his notion, that the misquoting a book is intrinsic evidence of fabrication, may not prevail; for we should not like to have our book proved a forgery by his misquotations. We suppose that his design is to rely on a distinction between the writ of *congé d'élire,* and the ancient and laudable custom of electing by virtue of a writ of *congé d'élire.* But in his first edition he says expressly, "Now the writ of *congé d'élire* was abolished by the act of Parliament of 25 Henry

VIII. It was restored in Queen Mary's time but was again abolished by the revival of the aforesaid act of Henry VIII, in the first year of Elizabeth."—*Kenrick, page* 131, *first Ed.* We shewed, by the means we have mentioned, his mistake. Now, he brings out the same errors, with the additional one of saying that Elizabeth revived the statute of 1 Edward VI. ch. 2, which repealed 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20, in the same page in which she is said to have revived the act of Henry VIII. by repealing a statute of Mary, which she did not repeal, but which statute did revive the very act of Henry which our author says it repealed. He then winds up, by saying that "the ancient custom of electing by *congé d'élire*, which is acknowledged to have prevailed, need not have been made the subject of three separate acts of Parliament abolishing it, reviving it and again abolishing it." If it were once abolished, nothing was more probable than that if those who liked it got the power, they would revive it, and then its enemies might abolish it again when they could. The truth is, that it was regulated, in a very improper manner in our opinion, by the statute of Henry VIII., abolished by that of Edward VI., restored by that of Mary, to the same condition in which it was left by Henry, and in that condition remains to this day. The act of Henry VIII. refers expressly to the ancient custom, the forms of which it designed to retain, while it deprived them of their substance, and, under cover of those forms, transferred to the crown, the influence which had been so long possessed and abused by the pope. Of course if the forms were retained, they must be treated with formal respect, and in all official documents would be spoken of in the ancient language. So that a recital of these empty forms, unaccompanied with a statement that they were only forms, is so far from proving a document forged, that it is precisely what we would expect, and what is done in all extant documents.[a]

[a] We have given in the Appendix to our Essays a full copy of the act of 1 Edward VI. ch. ii, touching the election of bishops, by which the

We now come to the "Facts inconsistent with the register." Of these, it seems the utmost exertion of Romish dil-

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congé d'élire was really taken away. On referring to the statutes at large, 1 Mary, session 2, ch. ii., we find this act repealed. This repealing statute of course revived the act of 25 Henry VIII. chap. xx., so far as it had been repealed by 1 Edward VI. ch. vii., that is, it restored the *congé d'élire*. The act of 1 Mary, session 2, ch. ii., was itself repealed not by Elizabeth, but by 1 James I, ch. xxv. § 48. Of course, the statute of Henry was in force during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. But besides this, in the act of 1 Elizabeth, ch. i. § 5, it is expressly enacted that this statute of Henry VIII. ch. xx. should be revived. In the fourth year of James I, as we find in Coke's reports, part 12, page 7, "It was moved and strongly urged that such bishops as were made and created after this session of Parliament were not lawful bishops. The ground of this motion was, that the statute of 1 Edward VI. ch. ii. was in force. The argument, according to Lord Coke, was this: "And whereas the said act of Edward VI. was repealed by a special act, 1 *Mariæ. Parliam.* I. cap. ii. sess. 2. And the said act, 1 Mar. is now repealed by a branch of an act 1 *Jac. cap. xxv. versus finem*, for by the said act it is enacted that the said act of 1 Mar. shall be expressly repealed: so that the said act of 1 Ed. VI. is now in force." But according to the same authority it was decided otherwise by Popham, Chief Justice of England, and Coke, Attorney General, and afterwards by the Chief Baron, and all the other Justices then attendant upon Parliament, that it was not in force. The reason assigned was, that the said act 1 Ed. VI. was repealed, annulled and annihilated by three several acts of Parliament, which are enumerated; 1 Mary, session 2. ch. ii. §§, 1 and 2, Philip and Mary, ch. viii., and 1 Elizabeth, ch. i., which it is truly said revives the act of 25 Henry VIII. ch. xx. Thus it appears that Elizabeth and her advisers, not content with leaving the statute of 25 Henry VIII. to rest on its revival by Mary, actually re-enacted the very law which our author charges them with repealing, and thereby repealed the law which he says that they re-enacted.

The provisions of the 4th section of that statute we now transcribe from the statutes at large. They are as follows:

"And furthermore be it ordained and established by the authority aforesaid that at every avoidance of every archbishopric, or bishopric within this realm or in any of the King's dominions, the King our sov-

igence for two hundred and eighty-nine years has, in our author's opinion, discovered four. We will examine them.

1. The first is that, "Parker and others, whose consecrations are recorded in this Register, receive the title of archbishop and bishop in official documents, before the time

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ereign Lord, his heirs, and successors, may grant to the prior and convent, or the dean and chapter of the cathedral churches or monasteries, where the see of such archbishopric or bishopric shall happen to be void, a license under the great seal, as of old time, hath been accustomed, to proceed to the election of an archbishop or bishop of the see so being void, with a letter missive, containing the name of the person which they shall elect and choose. By virtue of which license the said dean and chapter, or prior and convent, to whom any such license and letters missive shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, in due form, elect and choose the same person named in the said letters missive, to the dignity and office of the archbishopric or bishopric so being void, and none other. And if they do defer or delay their election above twelve days after such license or letters missive to them delivered, that then for every such default the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, at their liberty and pleasure, shall nominate and present by their letters patent, under their great seal, such a person to the said office and dignity so being void, as they shall think able and convenient for the same. And that every such nomination and presentment to be made by the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, if it be to the office and dignity of a bishop, shall be made to the archbishop and metropolitan of the province where the see of the same bishopric is void, if the see of the said archbishopric be then full, and not void; and if it be void, then, to be made to such archbishop or metropolitan within this realm, or in any of the King's dominions as shall please the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, and if any such nomination or presentment shall happen to be made for default of such election to the dignity or office of any archbishop, then the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, by his letters patent, under the great seal, shall nominate and present such person as they will dispose, to have the said office and dignity of archbishopric being void, to one such archbishop and two such bishops, or else to four such bishops within the realm, or in any of the King's dominions, as shall be assigned by our said sovereign Lord, his heirs or successors.

assigned for their consecration."—*page* 126. We think we have already said enough upon this subject.

2. The second is the fact, that Parker lived at Lambeth before his consecration, which our author proves by the commitment of Tunstall to his charge. We are not concerned to deny the fact. Coupled with this is a remark, that Parker is styled bishop absolutely, by Hollinshead, at the time of Tunstall's commitment. Upon this matter we think it sufficient to refer to our remarks on the similar fact of Stow's calling Grindal bishop. If Hollinshead be right as to the time, the calling Parker bishop is as much inconsistent with the writ of September 9th, as Stow's calling Grindal bishop on the 8th September. If he is wrong in the time, his accuracy in the use of a word is more open to suspicion, since he was clearly not writing with precision. But the main argument is, that Parker "was in possession of Lambeth Palace, one of the temporalities of the see. It may indeed," adds our author, "be said that he was allowed to hold part of his temporalities before consecration, a solution of the difficulty which would be very legitimately afforded, were the fact of consecration positively proved to have taken place after the term referred to; but which has not the same weight, as long as that fact is a matter of controversy."—*page* 127. He has let us know often enough, that every fact which he denies, and which is therefore "matter of controversy," must be proved, if at all, by such evidence as it pleases him to admit; for the fact of the controversy is a reason for rejecting any to which he chooses to object.

But in this argument, it is manifest that he forgets altogether his position. The consecration of Parker is proved to have taken place on the 17th December, by the production of the best possible evidence. He asserts that that evidence is forged, and to prove it, produces the possession of the palace as a fact inconsistent with that of the consecration having taken place at that time. Now if it be not incon-

sistent it is nothing; and if it can be reconciled to the fact of a consecration in December, that is, if it could co-exist with such a consecration, it is not inconsistent. But he admits that if the consecration in December were proved, there would be no inconsistency. The solution given would then be satisfactory. If so, it cannot be inconsistent with the consecration. His real argument is, that Parker was in possession of his temporalities, but the temporalities are never restored before consecration, therefore Parker was as much consecrated before December 17th as ever he was. Now, in the case of Barlow, he sturdily refuses to allow that the restoration of the temporalities is any proof of consecration at all; because he says that the Kings sometimes restored them before consecration. Yet here the possession of a part of the temporalities before consecration, is evidence that the Register of the subsequent consecration is a forgery. And this, although he knows that the possession was not a consequence of a formal restoration of the temporalities. For on page 118, he cites Hardouin's argument against the Register of the Prerogative Court, that it "should not be in the name of the Archbishop, until he had sued out the writ for the recovery of his temporalities, which, in the case of Parker, did not take place until the month of March following."

We have shewn that M. Hardouin was ridiculously wrong in his law, but he was right in the fact about the restitution of the temporalities in March, and the mere facts of his stating it, and our author's adopting it, prove that our author knew that Parker was not restored to his temporalities until March, 1560, and consequently that he possessed Lambeth in some way which did not imply consecration. The very argument which we formerly used in answer to this objection was, that the writ for the restitution of the temporalities in March, shewed that although Parker might have been in possession of Lambeth, by favor, before December, 1559, yet he was not in possession of it as Archbishop legally entitled to it. If he had been so, he would have been in similar pos-

session of the other temporalities. And in fact, had the Queen designed to consider him Archbishop without consecration, according to our author's hypothesis, that writ would have issued, if at all, as soon as she came to that determination. Of our real argument, Archbishop Kenrick has thought it best to take no notice; and elsewhere, by way of supporting his notion, that the writ for restitution sometimes issued before consecration, he insinuates that our argument on this occasion was founded upon that practice.

3. The third of these facts is the assertion by Boner, on occasion of the famous dispute between himself and Horne, in 1563; that Horne was not consecrated by an Archbishop and two Bishops. "The Lambeth Register," says our author, "records Horne's consecration by Parker, assisted by three Bishops. If both these documents be genuine, how reconcile their statements, unless by supposing that Boner rested his denial of Horne's episcopal character on a fact, which the production of the Register would have at once disproved? Why was it not then produced?" We ask, in our turn; how it should have been produced? Ought it to have been produced at the trial of Boner? That never came on. Ought it to have been printed and published? Why the denial was in manuscript and first published by Strype, about a century and a half afterwards. How does our author learn that any body knew of the denial, except Boner and his counsel. The proof is not that Boner denied the consecration, but that he contemplated denying it.—They are very different things in their bearing upon this controversy; for the non-production of the Register to prove the fact denied, is not an inconsistent fact, unless a denial has been proved to be made; because there is nothing to call for the production of the proof.

4. The fourth of these facts is this: "Godwin, who lived very near the times of Parker, and his fellow Bishops, and whose work first appeared in 1601, in his catalogue of the first Bishops varies from the rest of our writers, both as to

days, months, and years, in regard to several of their consecrations." Now, we do not see any fact established here, except the carelessness of Godwin. That fact seems to us in no degree inconsistent with Parker's Register, or the fact of Parker's consecration. It would be just as good logic were we to say, "Archbishop Kenrick has committed many errors in his work on Anglican Ordinations; therefore Archbishop Carrol was never consecrated."

We have now arrived at the last of our author's three heads of argument. The "silence of contemporary authors."—This silence is according to him total. No contemporary author has mentioned Parker's consecration. He, however, selects Stow, and him only, as the person most likely, in his judgment, to have mentioned the fact. We have found it convenient to throw what we have to say about Stow into a note° which will be found in the margin. But notwith-

° Our author's remarks on the subject of Stow are the following:

"John Stow, the author of 'the Chronicles,' not only lived in Parker's time, and composed the annals or events of his own times, but was particularly favoured by Parker. Now Stow notes down the consecration and enthronization of Cardinal Pole, Parker's immediate predecessor; his reception of the pallium, and, the day on which he celebrated his first mass,—but of Parker's consecration or of the consecration of any of Queen Elizabeth's first bishops, he says not a word, although he mentions the deprivation of the Catholic bishops in the preceding July. Stow was a Protestant, and, therefore, would not have been silent through prejudice. Parker's consecration was an event every way worthy of notice. Considerable difficulty was experienced about the matter. Two commissions are supposed to have been issued; six lawyers consulted on the legality of the latter one; and a bishop, named in both, in each instance, refused to act. Parker was the connecting link between the old and the new hierarchy, in point of orders, if his supposed consecration be admitted. What event, then, more necessary to be placed on record? Parker was Stow's patron; why, then, did this latter omit all mention of an occurrence which that patron is supposed to have had so much at heart? Parker's consecration was not only important in itself; it was most worthy of remark

standing that he has thought proper to consider the case of Stow particularly, he maintains that the silence is universal.

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as to its form: for of sixty-nine archbishops who preceded him in the see of Canterbury, none was ever consecrated in the same manner. In a word, if Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, in the circumstances and according to the form alleged, Stow's silence is most extraordinary." *Kenrick, p.* 128.

Up to the present time we have known little or nothing of Stow beyond his name, which was familiar enough to us, as to other desultory readers. We have therefore looked into the account of him given in the "General Dictionary Historical and Critical" of Messrs. Bernard, Birch and Lockman, edit. London, 1739, in 10 vols. folio. We there find no mention of his writing any annals of his own time; on the contrary, he appears to have been an antiquary, more concerned with the past than the present. Of the Chronicles, the book named in our quotation, the full title is "Summary of the Chronicles of England;" it extended from the coming in of Brute to his own time, and must have been very voluminous, or very general in its statements. It was first published soon after 1562, and reprinted with additions in 1572. In 1600, it was again republished greatly enlarged with a new title, *Flores Historiarum*, and again with further additions under its new title in 1605, the year of his death. But even in its most enlarged state it is said to have been "no more than an abridgment of a much larger history," for which he was preparing forty years, but which he never published. It is manifestly not reasonable in such a work, and from such a man, to expect minuteness in the mention of recent events. It seems to have been a work as different as possible from annals of his own time. We do not find that he was the author of any other work, except some part of the continuation of Hollinshead from 1573 to 1578, in which he could scarcely have found place for Parker's consecration, and his "Survey of London," published in 1572, in which he does mention the consecration of Grindal as Bishop of London, at the time mentioned in Parker's Register. But this our author regards as an interpolation. Archbishop Kenrick relies somewhat upon Stow's being a Protestant; but, to use a favorite phrase of his own, that is not absolutely certain. In 1568, and again in 1570, he was in trouble as a suspected Papist. In the former year, his study was searched by order of Grindal for superstitious books, "of which sort several were found

It is produced, however, by his assertion that all the writings professing to be contemporaneous, of which there are many,

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there." In 1570 he was accused of offences connected with Romanism. He was acquitted; but the fact of the charge having been made, is an evidence that he was not regarded as a decided Protestant. We have collected these facts from the article "Stow," in the book we have named, vol. ix. pp. 426 to 430.

This argument from the silence of Stow is not original, or so new but it has been answered by Bramhall, who speaks as follows:

"Secondly, their authors wrest John Stow abominably. He was no professed writer of ecclesiastical annals. It is true, he mentioneth the consecration of Cardinal Pole; whether it was his respect to his eminence, as being a near kinsman to the Queen, a Cardinal, the Pope's legate, and his grand minister for the reconciliation of England, or because a toy took him in the head; but not with so many particulars as the Fathers intimate: all he saith is this, 'The twenty-first of March Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was burnt at Oxford, the same day Cardinal Pole sang his first Mass at Greenwich in the Fryar's Church, on Sunday next he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury' (here was speedy work,) 'and the twenty-fifth of March received the pall with the usual ceremonies at Bow's Church in Cheap.' Here is another Nag's Head meeting; where he was consecrated, by whom, after what form, he leaveth the reader to presume. But of all the other consecrations performed in Queen Mary's time, this diligent author mentioneth not so much as one; of all the consecrations in Queen Elizabeth's time, I think not one; of all the consecrations in England since the Conquest, not one; or so rarely, that they are not to be taken notice of. If the argument of these Fathers were of any value,—John Stow mentioneth not his consecration at Lambeth, therefore he was not consecrated there,—we never had a consecration in England since the Conquest, but Cardinal Pole's; for he mentioneth none but that which I remember; I am sure, if he mention any, it is most rarely. If the Fathers' argument were good, Archbishop Parker was never elected, nor confirmed, because his election and confirmation are not recorded by John Stow: but all our records, civil as well as ecclesiastical, do testify the contrary.

"Lastly, if the Fathers would lay aside their prejudice, there is enough in John Stow's Annals, to discover the falsehood of their lying fable of the Consecration at the Nag's Head. By their account, the

are subsequent forgeries. The examination of this assertion properly falls under the discussion of the third section of his

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Nag's Head Consecration was September 7, anno 1559: but after this, in relating the solemn obsequies kept in St. Paul's Church for the French king, John Stow calleth him 'Dr. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury elect;' therefore the Nag's Head Consecration is a lying fable; if he was still 'elect,' he was not then consecrated. But afterward, speaking of his death, May 17, 1575, which is the next time I find him mentioned, he styleth him the 'Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Parker, Doctor of Divinity, Archbishop of Canterbury.' Here is no more the word 'elect', for after confirmation and consecration the word 'elect' ceaseth; here he is complete 'Archbishop of Canterbury.'" —*Bramhall's Works, Vol. III. pp.* 149, 150.

On this passage Mr. Haddan gives the following note, from which it appears that the Chronicles or Annals is a very small work to cover so much ground.

"Stow, Annals, p. 628, ed. 1615; fol. 386. a, b. ed. 1574. This book a very small octavo in the first instance, was published repeatedly, and each time with the addition here and there irregularly of new matter, between (the first edit. in) 1565 and 1631; so as to destroy all ground (little enough at best) for arguing negatively from it. In his Description of London, p. 491, first ed. in 1603, Stow speaks of Grindal's consecration to that see, Dec. 21, 1559, being the correct date according to the Register, and inconsistent with the Nag's Head Story." —*Ibid, p.* 149, *note n.*

Before parting with Stow, in this place, we will recur, for a moment, to the fact of his calling Grindal, Bishop of London, at the obsequies of the French King, Henry II., of which we have already spoken. We have recently become possessed of a copy of the original edition of Champney's book, "On the Vocation of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Ministers," &c. Douay, 1616. In this volume, which we had not seen until after our remarks in the second Essay had been printed, we find that Champney takes ground upon the silence of Stow, at page 196, "which silence," says he, "all circumstances considered, would not proceed from any other reason than from fear of offending, by saying the truth." To prove this, he sets down six reasons; the last of which is as follows:

"Sixthly speaking of Henry the 2. King of France his obsequies solemnized in Paules this same yeare 1559. saith, that the 9. of September

fourth chapter, which is the proper business of our next essay. In the meantime, to make this wonderful silence

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(to wit three monethes and more before M. Parkers consecration according to M. Masons registers) *was a sermon preached by D. Scory, in place of D. Grindall Bishop of London.* Now seeing he calleth him Bishop absolutelie without adding of elect or other like restriction, it seemeth that he had then some consecration; which could not be that which M. Masons registers speake of, for this was three monethes after and more as is already noted, and therefore most like to be that at the nags head, I see well that Stow some lines before calleth D. Parker Archbishop of Canterburie elect. But this taketh not away the difficultie. For he might for all that be consecrated Bishop as well as D. Barlow, whom he calleth in the same place Bishop of Chichester elect, and D. Scory whom he calleth Bishop of Hereford elect, which two notwithstanding are supposed to haue bene consecrated long before that time. And surely if D. Parker had not bene consecrated at least after their maner, he could not haue had place in that solemne action of the Kings obsequies, before D. Barlow and D. Scory if they were consecrated, as they are supposed by M. Mason to haue bene. For Archbishops only elect cannot haue place before consecrated Bishops in the offices of the church.

"Therefore when Stow calleth him Archbishop of Canterbury elect, he doubtless speaketh in the same sense of him, that he doth when he calleth D. Barlow Bishop of Chichester elect, and D. Scory Bishop of Hereford elect, which he doth not because they were not consecrated Bishops after their manner, but because they were not as yet enstalled in those sees, as D. Parker also was not as yet in that of Canterburie. And that this is true, it appeareth by the different stile he giueth to D. Parker and D. Grindall, tearming thone absolutely Bishop of London without all restriction, because he was already enstalled and in posession of his Bishopricke, and thother only Archbishop elect for want of the same circumstance. If therefore D. Parker and D. Grindall were Bishops in the moneth of September the yeare 1559, as by the testimonie of Stowe they appeare to haue bene, what verity can there be in M. Masons registers, that make M. Parker to be consecrated only the 17. of December in the same yeare, and D. Grindall after him."—*Champney*, 197, 198.

This passage is worthy of note, for several reasons. First, Champney's argument rests on the fact, that Barlow and Scory had been consecrated,

still more wonderful he resumes the subject of the assertions said to have been made by contemporary Romish writers, that Parker was never consecrated. We shall not go into this subject at present; in due time it shall receive attention, in connexion with the chapter which our author has dedicated to that matter.

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de facto, which is inconsistent with much of the argument against the validity of Anglican Ordinations; for it is contended, and by Champney himself, that Barlow was never consecrated. It is also inconsistent with all those versions of the Nag's Head fiction, which treat Scory as a mere priest. Moreover, it cannot be reconciled, either to those accounts of the Nag's head travesty, which name Grindal, as one of those, who underwent a mock consecration on that occasion, or even to Champney's own; for he tells us, page 194, that, "At the nagges head in Cheapside by accorded appointment mett all those that were nominated to Bishoprickes vacant either by death as was that of Canterberie only, or by unjust deposition, as were all the rest: their names are set down in the chapter following." Of these names, set down at page 203, that of Grindal is the very first. It is, by the way a specimen of Champney's veracity, that he says, that Canterbury was the only see vacant by death; yet his list of deprived bishops contains but fourteen names, which, with Canterbury, and Llandaff which was full, make sixteen, leaving ten others vacant by death.

Again, if the fact that Grindal had been inthroned, before the 8th September, 1559, were proved, Champney's argument would be worth something. But he has no right to assume that fact, not only without evidence, but against the evidence of the registers of Canterbury and London, and of Stow himself, in another work, from so slight a circumstance as the omission of a single word. It is in truth, much more likely that the word elect should have been omitted, by an oversight of the author, or printer, or both, than that Grindal should have gotten so much in advance of his fellows, and thus have become an exception, to that which Stow's context shows to have been the general rule at the time, that the new bishops were regarded as only bishops elect. In fact, such an exception cannot be supposed; because it cannot be reconciled to the theory of either side of the dispute, or to any account of the transactions of the period true or false.

ESSAY IV.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. BOOKS.

We have now arrived at the third section of our author's fourth chapter, which he has entitled, "Parker's Book *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, and other writings." Before commencing the examination of this section, we think it well to recapitulate what has been done, in order that our readers may have fully in their minds, the position of the controversy. The question we are engaged in discussing, is that of the fact of Parker's consecration; the validity of the rite is another question, not less important than that before us, but essentially different from it, depending upon different principles and facts. Our present business is with the bare fact of the consecration. Now, the evidence adduced to prove the fact, is the usual and regular direct evidence, found in the proper depository, and having all the usual evidences of genuineness, which would entitle it to be read in any court of justice in the world. Our adversaries assert that this evidence is forged. They do not attempt to establish this averment by any direct evidence. They do not point out the time when, nor the persons by whom, the forgery was committed. They do not attempt to shew any time, at which the disputed document is asserted, by any one, to have been introduced into its depository, or at which it is alleged by any person not to have been there. On the contrary; they are not agreed among themselves as to when the forgery was committed; and even the same individuals assign different periods, for the commission of this crime. Archbishop Kenrick, for instance, in the compass of two pages, intimates that the forgery was committed in the reign

of James I. to gratify his maxim, "no Bishop no king," and that it was committed towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when, as he is pleased to say, the superiority of the Episcopate to the Presbyterate, so plainly announced in the Ordinal of Edward VI., which she restored early in her reign, was cautiously claimed.

On the other side is produced an array of evidence, which our author himself pronounces imposing. It consists in the perfect agreement of the document under inquiry, with a vast number of other Registers and Records kept in various parts of England, without any body being able to point out the slightest discrepancy between them. This has actually driven our author to attempt escaping from the weight of such testimony, by saying that we are not obliged to conclude that the whole of Parker's Register is forged, but only that part which relates to his own consecration. But unfortunately for him, that part, by the facts of its being contained in the first pages of a very unsuspicious volume, of the paging being continued throughout that volume, by the agreement of the handwriting with the immediately subsequent entries, and by reference to it in subsequent parts of the volume, is so connected with the rest, that the whole volume must be forged, if that portion is not genuine. *See our former "Essays" page 63, and Haddan's Bramhall, iii. 173, note a.* Now the whole volume of 411 folio pages, containing an account of all the transactions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, during several years, is so connected by its contents, with the Records of the great seal, and with the Registers of all the Bishops of the Province, as well as with other documents, that it cannot be forged, without all the Records in England for several years are forged also. This then is nothing short of ludicrous; and to argue on such a supposition impossible. Our author therefore warily suggests, that we are only obliged by his reasoning to reject the record of Parker's own consecration, while his arguments

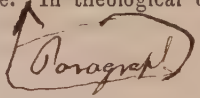
really attack the whole volume, and through it the whole records of the English nation.

He begins by throwing all manner of suspicion, not on this Register only, but on all records, by several arguments; which have really no other application to the subject, than that they tend to weaken the belief in all record testimony in the minds of the ignorant. As addressed to intelligent men, they are actually of no value whatever. He then approaches the Record of the Consecration. This document, like the rest of the volume, has its relations with other documents, and is sustained by its coincidences with them. The most striking, but for that reason not the most convincing, is with the *significavit*, which authorised the consecration, and which is recited in the Register itself. Our author spends no little labor in proving that this document is forged; with what success the readers of our second Essay will be able to judge. He then selects one or two instances of coincidences without reference, which are in their nature the most convincing, but those by him selected, are by no means the whole; as those who have read our former "Essays" know. These he pronounces forged; because they do coincide exactly with the fact alleged in the Register, and because they treat the Archbishop as possessed of his jurisdiction at too early a period. That is a question of English law; and we naturally look for English authority upon the subject. But instead thereof, we are presented with the opinion of a French Jesuit; who is not known to have ever been in England in his life, and who certainly never read an English law book, and does not condescend to fortify his opinions by any authority whatever. He is, besides, a furious partisan of the Pope, writing controversially upon the very subject, and is marked in literary history, as the man who believed every thing to be forged, which militated against his favorite theories. This man, whose books are condemned by his own Church, and his own society, because of the extent to which he carried his

absurd notions of forgery, left nothing untouched, not even, as the sentence upon his books intimates, the canon of the New Testament. We, on the other hand, have shewn by an English Law-book of very high authority, that this ally of our author, is utterly mistaken in his fancies about English law, and that the records he attempts to impeach as inconsistent with that law, coincide with it as accurately as they do with Parker's Register.

Having thus, as he supposes, prepared the minds of his readers, he approaches the principal subject more closely, and produces his marked and numbered reasons, why the record of Parker's consecration is to be considered forged. These are thirteen in number, besides three or four, which, not having in his judgment strength to stand alone, he has not thought it expedient to bring formally into the list, but has used them as a kind of make-weights, to help to turn the scale in favor of those of the enumerated reasons which he did not regard as particularly strong. We have examined all these reasons, as well the principals as the accessories, and have found some of them false and the rest frivolous.

Our author then falls back upon the "silence of contemporary authors;" which he takes care to make total, by considering as forged, every book in which the consecration is mentioned. They are not many; nor can it be expected that they should; of course every one who has written of the period has spoken of the fact that Matthew Parker was Archbishop of Canterbury. But that does not suffice our author; the fact must be mentioned that he was consecrated. Now, in speaking of an Archbishop, this is generally taken for granted. The consecration would only be mentioned by those, who were led to speak of it by particular circumstances. A few such writers there are; and these our author, without exception, considers to be forged or interpolated. This, and every other part of his argument, proceeds upon one postulate. In theological questions, Romanists



always assume the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and the necessity of being in communion with him. Their arguments presuppose it, and are unanswerable upon that supposition. But that postulate they beg, in many cases we believe quite unconsciously. They cannot comprehend why men who do not believe their favorite dogma are not convinced by arguments, which, if it be assumed, are unanswerable; while until it is assumed they are worthless. The Romanist writers upon the present controversy, not excepting Archbishop Kenrick, are in a similar position. They have made up their minds that Parker was never consecrated. Every document which asserts that he was, is therefore suspicious, and may be proved to be forged by the slightest circumstances. Having by this very process removed all proof, they quietly give judgment, that the Register, the principal document, is forged, because those which have been produced to sustain it are forged; the principal argument to prove them forged, being the fact that they do sustain it. While the result is, that those who believe them, are bound to believe in the existence of a system of forgeries, which, for mass and combination, is unapproached in the annals of the world, and could neither have been conceived nor executed without superhuman ability.

Our author then commences this "Battle of the Books," under some disadvantages; for should he succeed in proving all those which he attacks, to be forgeries, he will have gained nothing; since the Records, standing as an impenetrable phalanx, will insure us the victory, even without the aid of those light troops, the books; without a metaphor, the Records are a sufficient independent and irrefragable proof of the fact which he has ventured to deny; even although he should succeed, which he will not, in discrediting the books.

He approaches the contest with his usual wariness, adhering to his settled policy of raising a dust in the beginning. "The authority," says he, "principally relied on by the de-

fenders of Anglican Orders, to sustain the authenticity of the Lambeth Register is a work ascribed to Parker, bearing the above title." That is "*De Antiquitate Brittanicæ Ecclesiæ.*" Now this is a mistake; the authority relied on "to sustain the authenticity of the Lambeth Register," is its own intrinsic evidence, coupled with its coincidences with a body of other Records, which it is impossible to believe forged. This book is a mere trifle, and if shewn to have been forged yesterday, it would not materially affect the evidence for the genuineness of the Register, or for the fact of Parker's consecration. His next sentence contains more truth. "Like all the documentary evidence which is brought forward on the same side, the genuine character of this work is matter of controversy," p. 134. It is too true that no evidence can be adduced, however really unexceptionable, which the Romanists will not make "matter of controversy." Their object being, not to settle any thing, but, to involve every thing in doubt, is half gained, when they have got up a dispute. There are, as he truly enough states, two editions of this work, one published at Hannau, in 1605, which was copied from the first published at London, 1572. It purports in its title page to contain the lives of the seventy Archbishops of Canterbury, of whom Parker was the seventieth. His Life, however, was not published with the rest in 1572, but in the following years, of which he lived but three, he caused several small editions of this Life to be printed; these he added to those copies which he gave to his friends. In 1605 an edition was printed at Hannow in Germany, which has been generally believed to mean Hanover, but, as we have been privately informed, by Mr. Haddan, really means Hanau, near Frankfort. The German edition does not contain the life of Parker, but it does contain a single leaf, on which is printed a table of his consecration, and that of the Bishops whom he consecrated. This leaf is alleged by Romanists to shew marks of having been inserted after the work was first published.

The German edition does not contain the Life of Parker; which shews that the editors had not access to one of the presentation copies, in which only that life was found, and in which only the table of consecrations was printed. It is not at all unlikely, that after their book was published, they met with one of the presentation copies; and not choosing to go to the expense of printing Parker's life, they struck off some copies of the table to be stuck into the unsold books. For aught we can see, this book, "De Antiquitate," has as good a right as any other to be regarded as a genuine book with a true imprint. But unfortunately for it, it has been cited as corroborating the evidence of Parker's consecration; of course, its genuineness immediately became "matter of controversy." The Romanists maintain that both editions were forged after 1613, the second to countenance the first. Most people would have thought this an unnecessary accumulation of forgeries; but we have seen that Pere Hardouin, does not believe that forgers stick at trifles. Again, it would seem to have been more natural for a forger, when he was forging a second edition, to have included in it that part of the work, which he wished to sustain; but we suppose that a person so experienced as Father Hardouin in the detection of forgery, must know better what a forger is likely to do than people of plain common sense. The men who forged Virgil, and Livy, and Tacitus, and Plato, and Thucidides, and Josephus, and Eusebius, and Justin Martyr, certainly pursued an extraordinary course; and Father Hardouin must have regarded them as the models of modern forgers.

But since we are put to prove the genuineness of this little book, let us look about for evidence. We have been saved much trouble in this matter by Mr. Haddan; who unites to unbounded industry, a facility of access to such matters, which nobody in America can possess. In his edition of Bramhall, vol. iii. p. 11, note c, he gives us the following account of the matter.

"De Quien and Hardouin have questioned the genuineness of the edition of this book in 1572; but with an entire ignorance of the state of the case and upon almost childish pretences. The evidence of its genuineness consists;—1. in the quotation of it by a chain of authors, from the Puritan 'Lyfe' (mentioned in note f below) in 1574, Powel in 1583, Thynne in Hollinshead in 1585, Camden in 1596, Cujas in 1589, and eight others at similar intervals to 1610 (see the references in Drake's Pref. to his edition of the book, Lond. fol. 1729); 2. in the known existence in 1724 of twenty-one copies of it, thirteen containing the Life of Parker, 50 being the number originally printed (see a list of their then owners in a letter of Drake's in Couray., Def. de la Diss, Pr. Just. art. xii. dated Nov. 15, 1724,) and some of them containing MS. notes and entries of considerably earlier date than 1605, (e. g. a presentation copy to the Earl of Arundel from Parker himself, now in the Cotton Library; and another now in the Bodleian Library, presented '5to Januarii 1593' to Richard Cosin by John Parker the Archbishop's eldest son; and another in Lambeth Library, which belonged originally to the same John Parker,—the same which passed subsequently into the hands of the Earl of Sunderland,—see an account of it by Dr. Ducarel in Todd's Acc. of Lamb. MSS. no. 959, and Couray., Déf. de la Diss., Pr. Just. art. xiii.; and see also below p. 123 note g;) 3. in the existence of two letters of Parker's, one to C. C. C. Cambridge (printed in Drake, Pref. before quoted,) speaking of the book as his own, the other, accompanying a presentation copy, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, in Append. to Strype's Parker, num. lxxxix.; 4. in the existence among the Cotton MSS. of the original collections, &c. which formed the foundation of the work, and were made by Jocelyn the Archbishop's secretary, Dr. Yale, and others (see Strype, Parker, bk. iv. c. 23;—Planta's Catal. of Cotton MSS.) And this evidence in part applies to the Life of Parker in particular as well as to the book in general. Against it objectors have nothing to urge but a difficulty about the death of Parker being mentioned in a book written by himself, the fact being that it is not mentioned (see below p. 121. note z,) a mistake (or misprint) in Stow's Annals, p. 639, ed. 1615,—'Barlow Bishop of *Chester*" instead of Chichester in 1559, Abp. Parker describing his see correctly,—and the rarity of the book, with the differences between the various copies of it, which are sufficiently explained by the account given of the mode of its publication, and by Parker's great reluctance to publish it (see his letter to Cecil just quoted.) It should be added,

that the Register or Table described below, p. 122, is expressly described and quoted in the Puritan Life (see note f) in 1574, towards the end of the 2nd Part."

We add the two notes referred to, in that which we have just copied; the first of them is appended to a passage in Bramhall's text, in which he is speaking of the register or table which has been [illegible] the Hannow edition.

"The last date in the above mentioned table or register (whether in the editions of 1572 or 1605,) is that of the consecration of Edmund Freake to the see of Rochester, 9 March, 1571 (i. e. 1571–2.) A list of Kings and contemporary Archbishops, which occurs likewise in many copies of the edition of 1572, but is not in the Hannow edition, extends to Abp. Parker inclusive as printed, but with the addition in MS. of Grindal and Whitgift and no more, in one copy in the Bodleian; as is the case also with a list of Cambridge Bishops in the account of Cambridge University, which is added to most of the copies of the edit. of 1572, in that preserved in Merton Library. These may be added to the multiplied proofs of the absurdity of supposing the edition of 1572 to have been a forgery of 1605. Further, May 27, in the text is a misprint or mistake for May 17, the day on which the Archbishop really died (Strype's Parker, bk. iv. c. 44.) And, lastly, the table in question contains several errors, one or two in common with the Life of Parker itself (see above p. 92, note q,) others either obvious misprints or as obviously arising from carelessness."—*Bramhall's Works* vol. iii. *p.* 123, note g.

The other is as follows:

"There are two Latin Lives of Abp. Parker in existence, both (most probably) from the pen of Jocelyn; one appended to the Historiola (see above p. 11. note f,) of which the Puritan 'Life' is a translation; the other (which is a distinct Life, although containing many passages almost identical with the first named) inserted in the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. The latter is not in all the copies of the first edition of the last named book; and where it does exist, is continued to very different periods, the book having been printed under the Archbishop's own superintendence for private distribution among his friends, and each successive copy containing additional matter, more or less, according to the year in which it was given away. No copy (according to Drake's edition) continued the account to the death of the Archbishop, and most

of them break off about the year 1572 (that in Merton Library, which is one of the longest, goes down to March 3, 1573, i. e. 1573-4,) and after a couple of blank leaves, conclude with an account of the Archbishop's domestic life, literary undertakings, &c., and lastly his intended epitaph. An account of the book may be found in Strype, Parker, bk. iv. c. 22. and Append. num. lxxxix.; Master's Hist. of Benet Coll., pp. 111, 113. ed. Lamb; Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Preface; Courayer, Déf. de la Diss., Pr. Ipst. art. xiii.; and the Matthæus itself (or Life of Parker) is printed in the Append. to Strype, num. xc., from a copy then in the Bishop of Ely's possession, now in the Bodleian Library. See also above p. 12. note d."—*Ibid. p.* 120, *note* z.

The note last referred to is as follows:

"The book meant is a translation, not of the Life of Parker in the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl., but of another Life of him (in many passages substantially the same) contained in 'a little Latin book, belonging to' Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 'called *Historiola*, being a MS. declaring briefly the History of the Foundation and the successive Masters of that College' (of whom Parker was one;) 'writ by the Archbishop's own directions about the year 1569, and still preserved with great esteem in the College' (Strype, Parker, bk. iv. c. 42;—there are two copies of the MS. in C. C. C. Library, the older of them in the handwriting of Jocelyn; see below p. 85, note f, and Master's Hist. of C. C. C. p. 113. ed. Lamb.) It is entitled, "The Lyfe of the 70. Archbishopp off Canterbury presentlye sittinge Englished and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin:—this numbre of seventy is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last. Imprinted 1574;' no place or name;—and contains, 1. 'Historiola, or, a Litle Storye of the Actes and Life of Mathew now Archbishoppe of Canterb.;' 2. a virulent invective against the De Antiq. Brit. Eccl. (of which the author had seen a copy without Life of Parker,) headed, 'To the Christian Reader, peace with Christe and warre with Antechriste.' It is a little duodecimo pamphlet in an old character (Dutch, according to Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 983. ed. Bliss.) The supposed author was Dr. Aldrich, Master of C. C. C. from 1569 until his ejection by Parker's means in 1573 'for notorious non-conformity,' and consequent violation of the College statutes (Le Neve; Strype, Parker, bk. iv. cc. 27, 42;—Lindsay, Pref. to Mason's Vindic., p. xcv. note o;—Wood Fasti, P. i. col. 172. ed Bliss;) but

Strype, although he allows that Aldrich was probably 'privy' to the transaction, inclines rather to attribute the pamphlet to John Stubbs, the same who lost his right hand 'not many years after for bold and seditious writing.' (Parker, bk. iv. c. 42.) Baker the antiquarian also acquits Aldrich, because the translation in question is made from a copy of the Historiola belonging to the University Library at Cambridge, not from those belonging to C. C. C. (Master's Account of Benet Coll., Life of Aldrich.)"—*Ibid. pp.* 12, 13, *note f.*

These notes seem to us to give a very clear account of this book, and to establish with tolerable certainty its genuineness. But let us hear the other side. Our author's argument is, "that it cannot be unhesitatingly relied on as authentic, may be seen by a description given by Courayer," page 134. He does not explain why; but gives, in a note, an extract from Hardouin, purporting to be two quotations from Courayer; he then fills up his note with quotations from Bramhall and Wood, avowedly taken from our "Essays;" but these quotations all say substantially the same thing, being, as we think, exactly the same account of the matter, as far as they go, which we have already given. He then attacks the title page, which "professes to give the lives of seventy Archbishops of Canterbury," and yet the book does not give the life of Parker, before whom there had been sixty-nine archbishops. "Is the date 1572," asks he "a true date." *page* 135. We do not see how its being a false date would help the difficulty about Parker's life not having been written. It seems to us that the writer changed his mind, and decided to print the book without Parker's life, and added that afterwards. This view is corroborated by a note of our author's, which we shall soon notice. He goes on: "Is the date 1572 a true date, then during the life of Parker a book was published professing to give his life, both in the above title as well as in the body of the work, as may be seen in the note below, and yet did not give it; since the Hanover edition, 1605, professedly taken from that of 1572, does not contain it, although its title page must have been

copied from that of 1572." Here is a strange affectation of precision in disproving, what is not pretended, that the life of Parker was contained in the edition of 1572. Now, had he looked to the bottom of the page, he would have seen in his note, in the extract from Wood, which he has taken from us, that "most of the copies that were commonly sold, conclude with the life of Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury who died in 1558. The other copies which remained and were to be bestowed on public libraries, or else to be given to special friends, had, in the year 1574, added to them: 1st, The life of the author, Matthew Parker, containing twenty-nine pages," &c. The note to which he refers, in the last quotation we we have made from his text, and to which we ourselves alluded just before, is a statement that "In the life of William Wareham, the sixty-seventh Archbishop of Canterbury, the writer promisses to write the life of Matthew Parker, ut in Mathiæ Parker Cantuariensis archiepiscopi vita inferius dicémus;" "as in the life of Matthew Parker below, we shall relate." Our author immediately adds, "This alone is sufficient to render the work of suspicious authenticity." Why? The reason follows. "Who," asks Hardouin, "with his *usual sagacity*, ever thinks of writing the life of a distinguished man until after his death? The fabricator of the work has accidentally betrayed himself." Of course any reason will prove forgery to Father Hardouin. But has our author never heard of a life of Taylor or Wellington? He can hardly be too young to remember lives of Jackson, and even of Bonaparte, published during their lives.

His next attack is upon the Hannow edition, in which Father Le Quien is his assistant. *See page* 136. The main argument is the "stray leaf," as he calls it, which appears to have been added after the book was printed. But if the book be forged, it was forged for the sake of this leaf; and the forger would have taken very good care, that it should have been inserted at the first printing of the book, and would have had the whole Life of Parker with it; that that Life is not there is conclusive evidence that the edition

is a real one, and of the time of its date. A forged edition would never have left out the very matters it was designed to prove. Another argument is, that there is no mention of the place where the ceremony of consecration was performed; in so brief a statement there was perhaps hardly room. Yet had the design been to corroborate a forged Record, that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth, there would have been room made.[a]

In his next paragraph he gravely comes to the conclusion, that "either the book was not published in 1572 or the life of Parker has been added to the work as it originally appeared." And he as gravely goes on to establish the latter alternative; which nobody disputes. He then, in the same paragraph, turns round and infers from the facts of the case, that although the book may have been written during Parker's life, it was not published in 1572. It is therefore, he says, a fabrication. Now, the lives of the first sixty-nine Archbishops, if they were forged at all, were forged for the sake of Parker's. Nobody pretends that this life was published in 1572. The proof that it was not so published, nevertheless, shews it to be a forgery. But he is not so well content with this logic, as not to call in the aid of Hardouin, who proves the forgery of the whole seventy lives, to his own satisfaction, because the first letters of the Preface, and first Chapter, are ornamented with the arms of Parker. Our author considers that incompatible with Parker's modesty. Well, it is more likely that Parker was deficient in modesty, than that a forger, for the sake of introducing a single fact into the life of one man, should encumber himself with the lives of seventy. But, according to the manners of that age, emblazoning his arms, no more compromised Parker's modesty, than the title of "Archbishop of St. Louis" in his title page does our author's, or that of "His Grace of Tuam," does that of Dr. McHale, or that of "Pontifex Maximus," that of Pio Nono.

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[a] See Note [illegible] at the Reader.

He next tells us a couple of ridiculous stories, pp. 136, 137, of two Romanists; one mentioned in a book printed in 1633, and the other in another perhaps twenty years later, who had both seen the manuscript of the book, "*De Antiquitate*," and they "did not find in it any thing of Parker's consecration, or any reference to the record of the same." Then all that is gone before is a mistake, the book is no forgery, it is only interpolated. But how his nameless witnesses came to see the manuscript, we are not told. In what public repository of forgeries it was kept, we are not told, and how it came to be preserved so many years, for the benefit of these curious inspectors, we are left to conjecture. What they saw, if the whole be not a fabrication, was probably a printed copy of the edition of 1572 to which Parker's life had not been added. But until they are named, and the time and place at which they saw the manuscript are pointed out, the story is worth nothing.

On page 173, we learn that John Stow, whose silence is almost as important an element in our author's argument, as Hardouin's conjectures, says nothing about this book. Very likely because he had not heard of it. But worse yet; Howes his continuator, does not mention it; and even when speaking of the old historians, whose works Parker either carefully preserved, or caused to be published, he does not digress to speak of this modern book. Perhaps he knew nothing of it either; but neither his ignorance nor Stow's can affect the testimony of those who did know and mention the book. The same remark may be made of Bishop Godwin who it seems knew nothing of it down to 1615.—But then the author of the Puritan "Lyfe," Powell, Thynne, Camden, Cujas, and eight other writers, referred to by Mr. Haddan, did. There are thousands of well informed people in the United States who never heard of Dr. Kenrick's Book on Anglican Ordinations, or of our answer to it, or of his second edition. Yet those books all exist, and the

testimony of a single man who had seen them would outweigh the silence of all those thousands.

It is our author's business to get rid of this positive testimony, and to this he accordingly betakes himself. As to Powell, and Thynne, he says nothing about them; what he says about Camden is just equal to nothing. His first attack is upon Cujas. As he is not, however, a witness very easy to deal with, he puts him in a note, pages 138, 139, and hands him over to Hardouin, who of course convicts him of being forged. The passage relied on in Cujas, we translate from our author's note. Cujas, having been speaking of the bad conduct of Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, the immediate successor of Thomas A'Becket, adds, "And this vice of Richard, the author of the History of the Archbishops of Canterbury, mentions in the middle of the chapter devoted to him. There are many good things in this author. His name is not known. The book only exists in England, from whence it may be obtained, and has been obtained, at a high price." Hardouin seems to have been puzzled, whether this was an interpolation, or the whole book was forged. He very wisely came to the conclusion that he would prove both. In order to establish the first, he gives the context from Cujas, saying that; "Courayer dared not cite the whole passage, as this would have rendered it evident that the reference (to Parker's book) was an interpolation. He then gives the passage, and asks whether it is not evident that the passage relied on has been clumsily interpolated; and this in order to make a grave professor say that there is a very rare book, which says, the same as the Decretal; that the book is to be had only in England, whence it is to be procured, and that it can be procured only at a very great price. "But what has become," asks he, "of those copies of 1572 imported into France? Not a single one of them is to be found." We suspect that he did not look very diligently; and even if he did, it would have been a bold assertion that there was no copy of a book to be

found in all France. But who said that any considerable number of copies had been imported into France? Nobody. Cujas only said that the book could be had in England, at a great price, and had been procured from thence, that is, he had a copy. Whether there were ever any more in France there is no evidence; and it is certain there were not many, for the book was scarce in England, and probably, few Frenchmen were willing to import it at Cujas' great price. Our author takes care to keep Hardouin's citation from Cujas in Latin, because there is no evidence in it of a clumsy interpolation, or of any interpolation at all, to any mind but one of the peculiar construction of that of Hardouin.[b] We have given

[b] The following is the Latin of the whole passage cited by Hardouin, from Cujas, as given by Archbishop Kenrick.

"Ad cap. qua fronte XXV. Haec constitutio scripta est Ricardo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi in Anglia, successori illius Thomæ qui dictus est Thomas Becquet; illius, inquam Thomæ, qui, necatus est, et in Martyrum numerum co-optatus, quod tuitio libertatum Ecclesiæ adversus potentiam et impressionem Regis fuisset ei causa necis. Cum vero non eodem modo se strenuum et diligentem præberet intuendis libertatibus adversus Regem, Ricardus, successor ejus, eo quod contra juris ordinem, et contra Pontificalis dignitatis officium, electiones episcoporum confirmaret arbitratu ipsius regis, in cubiculo ejus, in camera regis, nulla habita ante inquisitione morum ejus, qui confirmari volebat; quæ tamen inquisitio omnimodo in confirmationibus episcoporum præcedere debet. —*Cap.* 44 *sup. de elect.* (Et hoc Ricardi vitium, etiam refert Auctor Historiæ Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium, in medium adducto isto c. Sunt multa in eo auctore præclara; nomen ejus ignoratur, et liber tantum extat in Anglia, unde accersitur et accersitus est magno pretio:) in hoc cap. Romanus Pontifex Alexander Ricardum eo nomine increpat, nec tamen propterea illius consultationibus respondet minus."—*Kenrick, pp.* 138, 139, *note.*

The English is as follows:

At the chapter which has in its beginning XXV. This constitution was written to Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in England, the successor of that Thomas, who was called Thomas Becket. I say of that Thomas, who was slain and received into the number of the Martyrs,

the Latin in a foot note, with a translation, in order to shew this fact.

To return to Hardouin's argument. He tells us that the oldest edition where this interpolated observation is found is in our library, (of the Jesuits of Paris.) Its date, he tells us, is 1594. Courayer had cited one of 1589. He tells us, without assigning any reason, that this is an antedate, as the year 1572 is an antedate of the book "*De Antiquitate*." Now, it requires some faith to believe that any one would go to the expense and trouble of printing a large volume, for the purpose of inserting two or three lines, being a casual reference to another book, and introduced, in such a way, as not to be likely to attract attention, in order to give countenance to the forgery of another book, which is not even named by its proper title. This extraordinary forgery is proved to be one, by two facts. First, the printer's name, Bernardus Albinus, is more an English name than a German one; this, in fact, we do not see; and moreover, we do not think forgers put their true names to their forgeries. Then the book speaks of the death of Budæus "seventy years before, more or

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because the defence of the liberties of the Church against the power and influence of the King, was the cause of his slaughter. His successor Richard, when indeed he might have shewn himself strenuous and diligent in the same manner in defending the liberties against the King, on the contrary, against the order of law and the duty of his pontifical dignity, confirmed the elections of bishops at the will of the same King, in his own bed room, or the chamber of the King, no inquiry having been made into the merits of him who desired to be confirmed, although an inquiry ought always precede the confirmations of bishops. Chapter 44 concerning elections. (And this vice of Richard, the author of the History of the Archbishops of Canterbury mentions, in the middle of the chapter devoted to him. There are many excellent things in this author. His name is unknown. The book only exists in England, from whence it may be obtained, and has been obtained at a high price;) in this chapter the Roman Pontiff, Alexander, blames Richard by that name; but on that account he does not the less answer his inquiries.

less," this expression could "only be meant to designate as near as possible the year of Budæus' death." Budæus, he says, died in 1540, and hence, it follows that the edition of Cujas, which bears the date of 1594, was printed in 1610, exactly seventy years after his death. He tells us, that "1610 was a time most fruitful in impostures of every kind, and antedated books contrived by those interested to sustain the new hierarchy, which could only be done by multiplied fabrication." But for all this, there is no proof offered.—The whole is a pure Hardouinism. But one thing is certain, that in a book in the Jesuits Library at Paris, bearing the imprint 1594, the book "*De Antiquitate*," is alluded to. Another thing is equally certain, that Father Hardouin has not been able to assign any reason for believing that the book is antedated.

Hardouin then goes on to prove, that the book which contains the passage is not by Cujas. We do not care whether it is so or not. It is sufficient for us that it was printed in Germany in 1594; if it was not written by Cujas, it was written by somebody who had talent and learning enough to pass for him. The book is upon Canon Law, and Hardouin's idea is, that some wicked Protestant, probably an Englishman, employed himself in writing a learned work, in order to prove the existence of Parker's book, by a casual reference; and yet he made but one, does not name Parker, does not give the title of the book, and above all, referred to a part of the book which had been forged, not for its own sake, but for the sake of introducing another. Nay, this most industrious forger forged six large quarto volumes, in which there is no mention of Parker at all. But, as we said before, we care not whether Cujas wrote these books, or not. The important volume was printed in 1594; that it was forged for the sake of two or three lines, nobody will believe now that Father Hardouin is dead, except, perhaps, Archbishop Kenrick.

Having left Cujas in the hands of the merciless Hardouin, our author next approaches the puritan "Lyfe." This he determines to convert into an ally, and it is therefore not a forgery; he wisely prays the aid, not of Hardouin, but of Le Quien. He begins, with characteristic humanity, by expressing an unwillingness, "to involve the reader in a long and intricate controversy, about the authenticity of Parker's books," and therefore takes occasion "to observe, that the description of the work given by the advocates of Anglican Ordinations, is perfectly compatible with the fact that the book was in existence; that it was printed, and in some few instances cited by writers in the latter end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, and yet that, as far at least, as regards Parker's consecration, is utterly valueless as an authority." (Pages 138, 139, 140.) This is a very profound remark. It would have been difficult for any body to give a "description" of a printed book which was not "*perfectly compatible with the fact that the book was in existence*, that it was *printed, and in some few instances cited.*" Moreover, as it did not exist before 1572, and was not complete before 1574, it could not well have been cited before the latter end of the sixteenth century; inasmuch as two-thirds of that century had elapsed several years before it appeared. Whether it is of value as an authority, "as far as regards Parker's consecration," is a subsequent question; the present one is about its existence. Parker's consecration stands abundantly proved, there are few historical facts so well established; because, there are few which have been so obstinately denied, and therefore so thoroughly examined. The present attempt is to discredit the Church of England by throwing a suspicion of forgery upon this book. The consecration is abundantly proved without its aid; but it is right to shew mankind that the slander of forging this book is without foundation. To establish the truth of his observation, he refers to the Puritan "Lyfe," of which, he gives Mr. Haddan's account as printed by us above, page 116.—

He next announces his intention of translating from Le Quien,[c] who, it seems, had seen a copy of this "Lyfe."

[c] Le Quien, like Hardouin, was a Jesuit and like him published an answer to Courayer's "Dissertation on the Validity of the ordinations of the English." Courayer considered it the best, and indeed, the only rational, reply made to him. Like Archbishop Kenrick, Father Le Quien declined committing himself as a believer in the story of the Nag's Head, and only endeavored to make other people believe what he had too much regard for his own reputation as an intelligent man, to say that he believed himself. *Courayer's Defence de la Dissertation, &c.*, is for the most part an answer to the work of Le Quien, who replied in a second work, to which Courayer rejoined. Le Quien did not live to carry the controversy any farther. Of his last work, the late translator of Courayer speaks as follows, "In his new work, Le Quien, according to our author, gave up the Nag's Head story, but maintained that that of the Lambeth consecration was equally unfounded, and that it was not till after the authorizing of the Edwardine Ordinal 1562–3, that the bishops began to be ordained according to it."—*Dissertation, &c., Oxford*, 1844, *Editor's Introduction, page xlii. note c.*

In the same introduction, page xxiv., we are told, that "the great aim of its author," Le Quien, "was not so much to prove any thing as to raise doubts in every thing." A fact which presents another strong point of resemblance between him and Archbishop Kenrick. The introduction also contains some extracts of a letter written, by a Romish ecclesiastic, to M. L'Abbe Sutaine, Prior of St. Genevieve, who had lent Le Quien's work to the writer, speaking of it in such terms as to give to him "an impression of it, not a little advantageous." In this letter we find reason to believe that it was Le Quien, who, taking from Bramhall, the story told by Clarke to Higgins, about the lawyer whom Queen Elizabeth sent to read Parker's Register (see our page 73 *ante*) conceived the idea of turning it against the Register. How he did this we do not know; but, there is no evidence that he said the story was in the Register; we suspect that fabrication was the invention of Ward. The whole letter is a severe criticism upon Le Quien's book, and gives a very unfavorable idea of its spirit, while it argues forcibly against some of his positions. We copy the following paragraph because, it seems to us, to express very well the opinions we have ourselves formed

Archbishop Kenrick tells us, that the inspection of it strengthened his, "Le Quien's," conviction that neither it, nor the book, *De Antiquitate*, could be produced as evidence of Parker's consecration, pp. 140, 141.

Le Quien begins by a mistake; for he tells us that the "Life of Parker, which was intended to form a part of the History of the University of Cambridge, was afterwards designed to be placed at the end of the book, *De Antiquitate*," *p.* 141. Now, there was no Life of Parker destined to form a part of the History of the University of Cambridge; there was a Life of him intended to form a part of a series of biographies of the Masters of Corpus Christi College, which office he had filled; but this Life has never been published. It is by the same author as the Life in the book *De Antiquitate*, if Jocelyn be the author of that Life; but it is a different work from that, and still remains in manuscript. A translation of it, stolen by an enemy, is the book of which mention has been made, as the Puritan "Lyfe." The title page of that Life, Le Quien quotes to prove that it was intended to be added to the book, *De Antiquitate*. But that is only the authority of the Puritan at best; and it seems only a scoff, an intimation that he, the Puritan, intended to supply the deficiency of their Latin book by giving them a supplement in English. Moreover, M. Le Quien stops short without giving that part of this scoffing title page, in which the wish is expressed, that Matthew may be the last Archbishop of Canterbury. He then turns to the extract given

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of M. Le Quien's mode of argument, although, it is fair to say, that we know him only through Archbishop Kenrick's book.

"In the examination," says the writer, "which Father Le Quien makes of the evidences by which the Lambeth Records are established, there appears no longer any reserve, there, in truth, whatever care may be taken to forewarn his readers, he contests and supposes without end. What can one say in answer to an author who rejects, without any consideration, documents which appear most authentic and which support one another?"—*Ibid. pp. xxviii to xxxi.*

by Mason, from the life annexed to the book *De Antiquitate*, and tells us "it differs too much from what we read in the edition of the Puritan, to justify the supposition that it was taken from it." Which is a supposition that nobody but himself has made. Mason is on our table; and he, at page 131, the page referred to by Le Quien, quotes thus, "*ex vita Matthew Parker.*" Mason then translated from a Latin book, and one which had been published, but the *Historiola*, the Latin original of the Puritan "Lyfe," has not yet been published. M. Le Quien compares two different works together and finds them different. The next paragraph commences by stating that the Latin Life, which has been added to some copies of the London edition of the work on British Antiquities, is very different from the other two and much larger." The "other two," we suppose, are the *Historiola* and its Puritan translation. In that case what he says is true, but inconsistent with the statement of his last paragraph, that the *Historiola* was afterwards "destined to be placed at the end of the book *De Antiquitate.*" He goes on to state, truly, that; "It," the life annexed to the book *De Antiquitate*, "contains the narrative of the consecration of this Protestant primate; it states the year and day, as also the day of his election to the see of Canterbury, and the names of the bishops who consecrated him, circumstances not mentioned in Mason's extract, or in the Puritan Life. Hence," continues he, "it is natural to conclude that this Latin Life was written a short time before the death of Parker, (17th May, 1575,) or what appears nearer the truth," (that is, more convenient to M. Le Quien,) "after his death, for this long Life was but sketched in the two preceding editions, and there is nothing to shew that it was printed before May, 1575." All this labour to prove what is agreed, that the book was not printed before 1574. For all the purposes for which the book has ever been produced, it is perfectly immaterial whether it was printed in 1574 or 1575; a few

months before or a few months after Parker's death. There is, however, abundance of external testimony to shew that it was printed in Parker's life-time.

M. Le Quien then remarks, on the small number of the edition, on its being unknown to "the Catholics," as he calls them, and to Whitaker, all which may be true enough. The smallness of the edition sufficiently accounts for the other facts, as it will also for its not being cited, to refute the objections "made by Stapleton, Campian, Durey, Kellison, and the other Catholic controversalists, against the ordinations of their bishops."—*page* 142. A still better answer is, that the objections were not of a character to be answered by this book, and that when Kellison, at length, made an objection, to which it would afford an answer, it was cited by Mason.

He now brings us the great discovery for which he has been preparing our minds. He says; "This leader of the Anglican Reformation under Elizabeth, may have prepared it himself, in order to conceal from posterity the shame of his intrusion into the first see of England, which was ascertained, as Stapleton assures us, to have been effected without imposition of hands."[d]

"Hence, we are justified in calling into question the statements of such suspicious documents, especially as we know them to be contrary to the testimony of many contemporary writers, who spoke openly, and not as if afraid of the sound of their own voice. It is not improbable that Parker and his brethren may have made some arrangement which, in after times, might be opposed to the troublesome objections of Catholic writers; and may have assigned his consecration,

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[d] And yet Stapleton has published this sentence, "*And yet the bishops were ordered not according to that act.*" 25 Hen. viii. ch. 20; "but according to an act *made in King Edward his days, and repealed by Queen Mary and not revived.*" For the proof see our former Essays.—page 105, and *post* Essay VII.

and that of his colleagues, to certain days which they found most convenient. To produce the manuscript of Parker, to quote some leaves which he got printed towards the end of his life, is to adduce the testimony of a man in his own cause."—*Kenrick, page* 142.

So after all, Archbishop Parker forged his own book. All the labour and pains which have been taken to shew that it did not exist for some years after his death, have been thrown away. Fortunately, however, the book is of no consequence, it is only his own testimony. Yet, his own testimony is the very thing the Romanists have been demanding; they have argued that he did not care about consecration, that he was never consecrated, and never pretended to have been consecrated. Now, he was so anxious about it, that he took care to leave evidence of the fact behind him; but that evidence is not to be believed, because it is his. He forged, of course, too, the Register to which the book refers, and all the other records which are connected with that Register, or which confirm it by undesigned coincidences. But that it was impossible for him or any other man to do. Archbishop Parker was no more a party in this cause than Archbishop Kenrick. The question is between the Church of England and the Romanists. Now the only evidence the Romanists have for the forgery, is the assertion of their own partizan writers, who are not to be heard in their own cause more than Archbishop Parker. In every attempt to prove it by argument they have failed, and have been exposed over and over again. All their arguments have been shewn to be either futile in themselves, or founded on falsehoods. The Register and the Records are then genuine, and Parker's consecration having been proved, independently of Parker's book, he was under no temptation to falsify, and his book is not forged, even by himself, but is proved by irresistable evidence to be a true and trust-worthy book.

M. Le Quien then asserts that according to the "Puritan Life," "the ceremony was not according to the ordinal of

Edward VI., and it consisted in a simple installation of Parker into the see itself, (episcopal throne) at Canterbury, and not in the domestic chapel of Lambeth, (sixty miles from the former place,") *apud Kenrick*, p. 142. He then gives an extract from the Puritan "Lyfe," which agrees in the main with King Edward's ordinal, and which says not one word of Canterbury, or of the Episcopal see, or of where the consecration took place. It begins with a statement that he, Parker, "was consecrated" without bulls, or the consent of the Pope, and without divers Romish ceremonies, to which his predecessors had submitted. It then states that "four Bishops having been appointed according to law, to perform this ceremony, they placed him in his throne, after he had promised to acquit himself of the duty of a pastor as it is prescribed in the Gospel," pp. 142, 143. This is all the authority that Le Quien can produce from the Puritan "Lyfe" for his consecration at Canterbury. The remainder of the extract is a rhetorical amplification of the passage which Mason, p. 131, ed. 1613, cites from the Latin Life of Parker, or to speak more accurately, Mason's extract appears to be a condensation of it. In Mason, the passage about placing him on his throne does not appear. It is worthy of observation too, that this passage in Le Quien has undergone three translations, all by enemies. First, it was translated from the Latin into English, by "the Puritan," then, from English into French, by Le Quien, then from French back into English, by Archbishop Kenrick. There would seem, then, to be some probability that it does not reflect the exact sense of the original Latin.

From it, however, Le Quien affects to believe that the ceremony of inthronization, was substituted for consecration. He calls inthronization, p. 103, "a very ancient ceremony in the Christian Church, which the ordinal of Edward omits." Of course, as the ordinal of Edward is the office of consecration, it, like the corresponding office in the Roman Pontifical, gives no directions for the subsequent ceremony of inthronization. Yet Le Quien suggests, as a ground of

suspicion of the Lambeth Register, that notwithstanding its minuteness, "there is no mention of the inthronization." [illegible] if the consecration were, as the Register expressly asserts, conducted according to the Ordinal of Edward VI., and the Ordinal omitted that ceremony, the Register could, in the account of the consecration, make no mention of inthronization, which, moreover, according to the custom of all times, was to be on a subsequent day. In the very next sentence, Le Quien tells us that, "The Register contains two documents, one of which states, that Parker should have been installed in person, and that he was installed by proxy."

And here Archbishop Kenrick brings forward a discovery of his own. In a note on page 143, he informs us that the description in the extract from the Puritan "Lyfe," given by Le Quien, "suggests the idea that the new bishops were at first inaugurated, or installed, by some such ceremony as that described in the text, and this inauguration may have taken place on the days subsequently assigned for their consecration." In support of this happy conjecture, he cites a brief rhetorical Life of Jewell, by Humphries, in which it is stated that Jewell "was inaugurated Bishop of Salisbury, on the 21st January, A. D., 1559." He adds, "The Register states that he was consecrated on this day," and asks, "Is it not very remarkable that Humphries, an ecclesiastical writer, should have used the word 'inaugurate' to express the consecration ceremony?" We answer, that although Humphries was an ecclesiastic, he had but little of the ecclesiastic spirit in him, for he was a noted Puritan, and that he was not, in this place, an ecclesiastical writer at all, but merely writing, in Latin, a brief memoir of Jewell, to be prefixed to one of his works, that he was not speaking at all technically, but was writing as classically as he could, and preferred "inauguratur" as a classical word, one of the meanings of "inaugurare," Archbishop Kenrick will find, if he will look into any Latin dictionary, is to consecrate.—Livy says, "*Augur in locum ejus inauguratus est filius.*"—

We take the quotation from Leverett's Latin Lexicon; the translation is; "His son was consecrated augur in his place." The Archbishop makes the whole argument, by the word he has chosen to use in his translation. It may, perhaps, be that *inaugurabant* was used in the *Historiola*, and has, in the course of the multiplied translations of the passage selected from that work by Le Quien, been changed into "placed him on his throne."

Le Quien next proceeds to point out several discrepancies between the extract which he has made from the Puritan "Lyfe," and Parker's Register. The first is, that the sermon, according to the Register, preceded the consecration, as of course it would according to the Ordinal; while according to the "Lyfe," "the Sermon followed the installation." But this is a mistake. The Puritan having first given the general statements, which we have already mentioned, proceeds to speak of Parker's conduct and dress, and then states the prayers, the sermon, and the Communion. Nothing can be more evident, than that no statement of the order of the ceremonies was designed. In order that our readers may be able to judge of this, we shall place the whole extract of Le Quien in the margin.[e] The next discrepancy,

[e] "The other Archbishops from Austin having entered by force of bulls, and with the consent of the Pope from Rome, he (Parker) was consecrated without them, and without any of those old and impertinent ceremonies of vestments, like those of Aaron, without gloves, sandals, shoes, mitre and pallium; but modestly and religiously, conformably to the purity of the Gospel. Four bishops having been appointed according to law, to perform this ceremony, they placed him in his throne, after he had promised to acquit himself of the duty of pastor, as it is prescribed in the Gospel. Neither did he conduct himself in a negligent manner on that solemn and joyful day. He appeared in a decent dress, suitable for a bishop. The Church ministers with the people recited the prayers; a bishop who had been a friar, and had taught theology, preached on the duty of a pastor towards his flock, and of the flock to the pastor. After the sermon, they partook of the spiritual

is, that according to the extract, "the assembly received the Communion; whereas, according to the Lambeth Register, the Archbishop, the other bishops and only some of the assistants received the Sacrament." He then adds, "the long Latin Life states that a great number of persons of distinction received the Communion. *Eucharistæ a frequenti cœtu gravissimorum hominum perceptione.* The second life quoted by Mason, also places the sermon after the consecration of the Archbishop, and the Communion after the Sermon," *pages* 143, 144. We do not know what is meant by the second life which Mason quoted. Mason quoted a Latin Life; and there has been no Latin Life published, except the Life of twenty-nine pages annexed to the book, *De Antiquitate;* which M. Le Quien chooses to call "the very long Latin Life." The extract which he gives, as from the long Latin Life, is, we suppose, from Champney's Latin translation of Mason's extract. For the work *De Antiquitate*, is a very rare book, and Le Quien has not, so far as we know, pretended to have seen it. If so, it is not a true translation. The Latin given by Le Quien means, "with the reception of the Eucharist by a large assembly of very grave men." Mason says, that Parker was consecrated among other things, by receiving the Holy Communion in a great assembly of most grave men. It is not true, that the Lambeth Record states, that "the Archbishop, the other bishops, and only some of the asssistants, received the Sacrament." It says, we copy from Archbishop Kenrick's translation; "After which, the elect of Chichester proceeded to other parts of the Communion service, giving no crozier to the Archbishop, with whom (Chichester) communicated, together with the Archbishop, the bishops above named, and

banquet, and ended with a fervent prayer to GOD, that the office which the clergy had imposed on him might serve to the glory of the Divine Majesty, the salvation of christian people, and the favorable testimony of his own conscience, of having fulfilled his duty when he will go to the LORD to whom he is devoted."—*Kenrick, pp.* 142, 143.

also some others."—*Kenrick p.* 111. It says nothing at all about assistants, and nothing definite as to the number of communicants. There is then, clearly no material discrepancy here. As to the concluding remark about Mason's extract placing the sermon after the consecration, it is clear that the writer of the passage was not speaking with any reference to the order of time.[f] And even if he were; since the Register is the direct and principal evidence in the case, its forgery has been shewn to be impossible, and all the arguments to prove it futile, if there should be ever so many discrepancies with it in the works of private writers, it would only shew that they were misinformed or careless, or at most, unfaithful.

M. Le Quien now indulges in some glorification about the doubt, he supposes himself to have cast upon the period at which the "long Latin Life," of Parker, as he chooses to call it, was printed, and he tells us that "This," the doubt, "justifies us in saying, that they were not printed until after

[f] We think it best to put our readers in a condition to judge of the whole argument, by printing the extract which Mason has given, "*ex vita Matthei Parker.*" It is as follows:

"But concerning Archb. *Parker, this was his singular felicitie, That being the* 70. *Archbishop after Austin, yet of all that number he was the only man, and the first of all which received Consecration without the Popes Bulls, and superflous Aaronicall Ornaments, as gloues, rings, Sandals, slippers, Miter, Pall, and such like trifles: making a happy beginning (more rightly, and more agreeable to the simplicitie and puritie of the Gospel) with Prayer, inuocation of the holy Ghost, imposition of hands, and Religious promises, in Attire correspondent to the grauitie and authoritie of an Archbishop, with a Sermon made by a learned and godly Divine, concerning the Office, charge and faithfulness, of a Pastour to his flocke, and the loue, obedience, and reuerence of the flocke to the Pastour; And after Sermon, with receiuing the holy communion in a great assembly of most graue men. And last of all, with the common and fervent prayers of them all, that the Office imposed vpon him, might redound to the glory of God, the salvation of his flocke, and the joyfull testimonie of his own conscience.*"—*Apud Mason, p.* 131. *Ed.* 1613.

the fabrication of the Register." Certainly they were not; they were printed in 1574, and the Register was fabricated in 1559. Then, after an allusion to the absurd story of certain anonymous Romanists, who are pretended to have seen the manuscript, more than half a century after the book was printed, he goes on to say, that "it has been abundantly proved that the Register is not authentic," and that "the Life of Parker is not better authenticated;" whereas he has expressly admitted it to be Parker's own work. His concluding sentence is: "Whatever may be said in support of these documents, is refuted by opposing testimony, which can never be so far weakened as to give entire certainty to the contested fact." We have examined all this opposing testimony, unless Archbishop Kenrick has omitted something, and the result is, that it cannot be weakened; because it never had any force. While the Records and Registers, which established the contested fact, not only have not been shewn to be forged, but it has been shewn to be impossible that they could have been forged.

Archbishop Kenrick, having dismissed Le Quien, now comes forward in his own person, but not without the aid of Hardouin. He tells us: "That in 1724, twenty-one copies of the book *De Antiquitate*, thirteen of which contained the Life of Parker, and some of them with manuscript notes and manuscript presentation addresses, were found in different libraries in England, is not denied.[ε] The existence of the

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ε We are indebted to a kind friend in England for the following extract from the work named at its head:

"Bibliographical Catalogue of Books, privately printed,—by John Martin, F. L. S., 8vo. London, 1834. Opposite to title a facsimile of the binding of Queen Elizabeth's copy, De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ, privately printed by Archbishop Parker. 1572.

pp. 1–10.—"De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ et Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem. 70. An. Dom. 1572. folio. The rare and curious volume under consideration may, however, justly be entitled a privately printed volume. The copy which Archbishop

book is not called in question; its date is the matter in dispute."—*page* 144. Yet Le Quien only attempts to raise a doubt whether the date of the Life was 1574 or 1575. He

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Parker sent to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, was accompanied by a letter, in which he states:—(see letter itself in Strype's Parker, vol. II, pp. 244-5.) The work was printed at Lambeth, by John Day. The Archbishop states, in another part of the same letter, 'that he had 'within his house in wages, drawers [of pictures] and cutters, [i. e. en-'gravers,] painters, &c.—book-binders.'

"The Archbishop's share in this compilation has been a matter of considerable dispute. In the letter above mentioned, he states it to have been the amusement of his leisure hours: and Dr. Drake, in the preface to his edition, is of opinion that Parker was himself the author. The fair conclusion will, however, I think, be that the Archbishop received considerable assistance, the chief of which was from Dr. Ackworth,* and Josselyn, his secretary. In the copy in the Lambeth Library, there are several MS. papers, letters and notes; among them will be found some proofs that Ackworth and Josselyn had a considerable share in the compilation. At the beginning of the Life of St. Augustine† we find this note: 'These 24 pp. of St. Augustine's Life were thus began by George Ackworth, Dr. of Laws, at the appointment of Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lives of all the Archbishops should have in this course been perfected,—(some words not intelligible,)—but deth (sic.) prevented it.' Dr. Ackworth was living in 1576, but how long after is not known. In the title page of the History, in the same copy, is the following note: 'This historie was collected and penned by John Josselyn, one of the sons of Sir Thomas Josselyn, knight, by the appointment and oversight of Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. The said John being entertained in the said Archbishop's house, as one of his antiquaries, to whom, besides the allowance afforded hym in his house, he gave to hym the parsonage of Kollinbourn in Kent,' &c.—There can be little doubt that the plan of the work was laid down by the Archbishop; and although he received considerable assistance in its

* Dr. George Ackworth had been Orator of the University of Cambridge, and became an inmate of Parker's house about 1570.

† This is the Life of St. Augustine, mentioned in the description of the copy in the Lambeth Library, which see.

admits that the rest of the book was printed in 1572. The dispute about the date then is not much; and Le Quien produces no evidence in favor of 1575; except that Parker was

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progress, the materials were chiefly supplied from his own collections of ecclesiastical history.

"The number of copies printed must have been very small. In the letter already quoted, the author states, 'he had not given to FOUR men in the whole realm; and peradventure, it shall never come to sight abroad, though some men smelling of the printing it, were very desirous cravers of the same.' Dr. Drake states, at the period he was preparing his new edition, that he had met with 21 copies. I have taken some pains to trace out those existing at the present time, [1834.] The list of which is as follows: 1. The British Museum, Queen Elizabeth's copy. 2. In the same Library, Lord Arundel's copy. 3. Lambeth Library. 4. Cambridge public Library, Bp. Moore's copy, and formed one of the collection presented to that University by George I. 5. Cambridge Public Library; with this is bound 'Annales Witichendi monachi Corbiensis.'—Franc, 1577. 6. Cambridge Peter House, ex dono Andræ Perne, olim huius Coll. et Decani Cath. Eccl. Eliensis, (since 1589,) Master of Peter House. He built the Library, and left this, among other volumes, amounting to 300. A letter from Perne, then Vice Chancellor, to Parker, thanking him for his donation of books to the Library at Cambridge, is printed in Strype, 7. Oxford, Bodleian, Lord Oxford's copy, afterwards Rawlinson's. In this copy is this note: '5to Januarii, 1593. Hunc librum, dono dedit Richardo Cosin Johannes Parker Armiger, filius primogenitus Matthei Parker, nuper Cantuariensis Archiepi. cuius auspiciis et sumptibus liber iste et collectus et impressus est, propijs in ædibus Lametha positis.' 8. Oxford. Bodleian; also Rawlinson's, and the copy mentioned in Strype's Life of Parker, as then in the Library at Ely. 9. Oxford, Merton Coll. 10. Oxford, Magdalen Coll., dono Richardi Boughton ejus Coll. socii. 11. Earl Spencer. 12. Mr. Grenville. 13. Rev. T. Russell, formerly Mr. Bindley's, afterwards Mr. W. Taylor's, then Mr. Dent's, and purchased at the sale of his library. 14. Library of Dean and Chapter of Westminster. 15. C. C. C. Cambridge. Since I was at Cambridge, Dr. Lamb has informed me there is one in that Library presented by Baker, the Antiquary, by a memorandum in the book he appears to have purchased it at York for £1 11*s*. 6*d*. It is the copy mentioned in Strype's Life, as being Mr. Baker's

then dead, and it would suit his argument better that the work should have appeared after his death. The existence of copies with Parker's hand writing upon them, is an ugly

intention to have presented to St. John's College; but in the copy of Strype's Life in that Library, there is a note in Baker's handwriting, 'so intended by me, but I found reason to alter my intentions, and disposed of my 3 copies otherwise, viz: 2 to the Archbishop of Canterbury and 1 to Benet College.' Baker mentions a copy of this work with various notes in the handwriting of Sir John Parker, (the Archbishop's son,) and adds; 'this copy is now in the possession of Lord Sunderland.' It is perhaps now at Blenheim. 16. Eton Coll. Library. This copy, which is one of the books presented by Storer, was formerly Mr. Tutel's, who purchased it at West's sale, with the rare portrait by Hogenburg, for £2 2*s*. . . . . These are all the copies I have been enabled, after considerable enquiry, to discover,* all of which I have collated. In Lord Spencer's copy, most obligingly sent from Althorp for my inspection, I find a note of his Lordship's, stating that there is a copy at Holkham. Whether the splendid copy sent to the Lord Treasurer, which Parker states 'that he had bound it costly and laid in colours the arms of the Church of Canterbury, impaled with his own paternal coat,' still remains in the Library of his descendant, I have been unable to ascertain.

"It has been observed that no two copies of this work have been found alike; and I can bear witness to the truth of the assertion in those I have collated. For this there is perhaps a prima facie reason in Parker's own words, who says: 'For the present he purposed to keep it by him, while he lived, *to add and mend*, as occasion should serve him, or utterly to suppress, and to brevit.' The variations are, however, so singular, that long as this account already is, I trust the rarity of the volume will excuse my giving some account of them as they occur in the copies enumerated above.

"The collation of Nos. 1 and 2 will be found in Lounde's Bibliographical Manual, and I apprehend these to be the earliest copies that issued from Parker's press, &c. &c., proceeding in pp. 6–10 to specify the differences between the copies already enumerated."

*Since these pages were in the printer's hands, the Editor has been informed by the Rev. Archdeacon Wrangham that there is a copy in the Cathedral Library at York, and he has also heard there is another in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

fact with reference to the theory that it was not printed until after his death. But facts must give way to the Romish theory that Parker was never consecrated. That is a first principle, to which all facts must conform, on pain of being "contested;" and as soon as they are "contested," they cease to have any value, and become incapable of proof. But Archbishop Kenrick goes on; "Hardouin very properly rejects the proofs derived from presentation copies, as also from a journal and letters of Parker. When these proofs were first produced, it was not possible to ascertain whether these manuscripts and memoranda had been actually written by Parker or others, whose names are mentioned in them." *page* 144. Certainly, the Greek and Latin classics, the Fathers of the Church, and these documents, are all upon a par; they are all equally forged. Yet Archbishop Kenrick knows perfectly well, that the handwriting of a man like Parker may be as well known centuries after his death as in his life time. He knows that his journal and memoranda were found in his college, to which he had bequeathed them; he knows that his letters were found in the possession of the descendants of his correspondents. Or if all these things are not so, why does he not produce some proof that they are not, and not condemn documents on the mere authority of a monomaniac, who thought every thing forged? But he goes on again; "We are not, indeed, able to prove them fabrications, but we cannot be required to consider them as proof."—*pages* 144, 145. If they are not fabrications, they are proofs; and until he can at least throw some suspicion upon them, he is bound to consider them such. What he says in the next sentence is very remarkable; "We must," says he, "always bear in mind that we have to ascertain the true character of books and documents, which, from the observations already made, are of at least a suspicious character, and have been repeatedly rejected by many learned men as parts of an extensive system of forgery."—*page* 145. But the system of forgery is too extensive to be possible. The idea of such a

system had been shewn to be absurd, before our author was born, and he has failed altogether in rescuing it from its position. The books and documents coincide with each other, and are so numerous and so connected by references and incidental coincidences, that there is no reasonable doubt of their authenticity, and they are, therefore, not of a suspicious character. That they have been rejected by learned men is true; but, perhaps the most learned of these men is one whose opinion is just as valuable as any other monomaniac's, upon the very subject of his monomania. The others have rejected these books and documents, upon reasons which have been examined and found insufficient. It is no fair reasoning to bring forward reasons against books and documents, and when those reasons have been refuted, to fall back upon the authority of men who rejected the books and documents for those very reasons.

Before quitting the subject of manuscript documents, we will call the attention of our readers to one which the Archbishop has not noticed, and which is free from all suspicion of forgery, and has not, so far as we know, been rejected by any learned man. It is from Sampson, the Puritan, who is mentioned in a Puritan authority, cited by him, as one of the only two learned men at the University at Oxford, to Peter Martyr, and is dated January 6th, 1559–60. It is preserved with other letters of a similar character, "either in the archives of the State of Zurich, or in the library of that city." *Haddan, Bramhall's Works, Vol. III. p.* 217. It is published by Burnet; *Reformation, Records, Part iii. Book vi. no.* 63, *and in the Parker Society's collection of the Zurich letters, page* 36, *Epis. xxvii.* This letter contains the following sentence: "Consecratio Episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est; D. Parkerus, Cantuariensis, D. Cox, Eliensis, D. Grindal, Londoniensis, D. Sandus, Vigorniensis; notos tibi nomino: unus alius Wallus etiam est Episcopus, sed tibi ignotus sequentur brevi D. Pilkintonus, Vintoniensis. D. Benthamus, Coventriensis, et tuus Juellus, Sarisburiensis, brevi inquam, ut

audio, sunt isti consecrandi (ut nostro utar vocabulo.") In English: "The consecration of some bishops has now been had; Dr. Parker for Canterbury, Dr. Cox for Ely, Dr. Grindal for London, Dr. Sandys for Worcester; these are known to you by name: one other is a Welsh bishop, but is unknown to you; there will follow in a short time, Dr. Pilkington for Winchester, Dr. Bentham for Coventry, and thy Jewell for Salisbury: I say, that in a short time they will be consecrated, as I hear, that I may use our word." This letter is dated on the sixth of January, twenty days after the consecration of Parker, and sixteen days after Grindal, Cox, and Sandys had been consecrated by him, all for the sees named by Sampson, at the same time with Meyrick, consecrated for the Welsh see of Bangor. No other bishops had then been consecrated; but Jewel was consecrated, on the 21st January, for Salisbury, Bentham for Coventry, on the 24th March, Pilkington not until March 2d, 1660–1, and then for Durham, instead of Winchester. He was elected for Winchester, on the 31st January, 1559–60; but the Queen chose to transfer him to Durham, and wrote to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester to that effect, November 24th, 1560.—*See Haddan's Bramhall, Vol. III. p.* 224.

Our author now passes to the other printed books, which have been cited, as mentioning Parker's consecration. The first which he encounters is Sutcliffe, who mentioned it in a work published in 1591. The truth of this fact our author fairly admits; although, after his manner, he attempts to weaken its force by observations of no real importance.

Camden's mention of the same fact, in his history of Elizabeth, he is also obliged to admit. But then the book was published after Mason; and therefore, according to one of his curious canons of criticism, promulgated in his first edition, half disavowed in his second, but still acted upon, the statement is taken from Mason. We had suggested, that, as the notice was in the very beginning of a book, written at the request of Lord Burleigh, who died in 1597, it was probably written

before 1613. To this he finds no better reply than, that "no proof can be adduced, that the notice of Parker's supposed consecration was written six months before the publication of the work, whether it occurs at the beginning or the end of it." We apprehend no proof need be adduced to prove that Camden did not write his history backwards, or that he did not write it in six months, or that he did not comply with Lord Burleigh's request, till that statesman had been dead fifteen years, or that he turned back and altered the commencement of his History, because Mason published a book containing facts of which he never before heard. But there is abundant proof that Camden knew those same facts in 1586. In that year he published a description of England, in which he gives a long extract from the book *De Antiquitate*. This fact the Archbishop notices very slightly and makes no attempt to disprove.

Stow is now again brought upon the stage, with the old story, that he calls Grindal bishop of London on September 9th, 1559, and therefore his mention of his consecration on 21st December, in the same year, must be an "augmentation," that is, a forgery. We have already shewn how inconclusive must be any argument, founded on Stow's giving to Grindal the title which he bore at the time when he wrote, especially as it might after all be a typographical error, being in fact the omission of a single word. But our author, in this place, states a fact which makes the weakness of the argument still more apparent; he says, and truly, that in the same paragraph Stow calls Parker elect. Now, it has never been pretended that Grindal was consecrated before Parker. There are three theories, a word which we use for the want of a better, about their consecration. The theory, if a proved fact may be so called, that Parker was consecrated December 17th, and consecrated Grindal on the 21st. Now, these proved facts shew that they were both elects on September 9th, and of course that any difference made between them was a sheer blunder. The second is the Nag's

Head fiction, according to which they were both consecrated, after a fashion, together, and consequently on the 9th September, were either both elects or both Nag's Head bishops. The third theory is that invented by Le Quien, when he was obliged to abandon the Nag's Head fabrication, that none of the English bishops, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, were consecrated at all, but that they took the title of bishops by the command of the Queen. But upon this theory, Grindal would not take the title before Parker. And the undisputed *significavit* of this very 9th of September, shews that the Queen then still desired and hoped to have Parker consecrated. Every way the omission of the word "elect" must have been a mere mistake. This plain error is a very frivolous reason for rejecting a formal statement, coinciding with the official record.

But this is not all; Stow "narrates the proceedings of this day in such a manner as to shew that Grindal was then in possession of the palace of the Bishop of London, a portion of the temporalities as such, which we are told, are never given before consecration. Is not this an evident proof that Grindal's consecration, mentioned in the Survey, must be ranked among the augmentations of the original work?"—*page* 146. It is not; it is the same argument used in the case of Parker and Lambeth, and is as worthless here as there. It has been said that the writ of restitution of temporalities, was never issued before consecration, and the ground, of those who said it, was that the law so directed. But Archbishop Kenrick has himself shewn, that the rule has not been always observed, and has himself argued that the writ for the restitution of temporalities afforded no proof of consecration. This was carrying his argument beyond what his premises warranted; for the existence of a few exceptions by no means destroys the force of the general rule. The presumption will always be in favor of regularity, and the existence of a writ, which the law requires shall not issue until after consecration, and which in an immense

majority of cases is only issued in conformity with the law, certainly affords some evidence of consecration. But, in this case, it is clear that the writ for the restitution of the temporalities of the see of London, to Grindal, had not issued on the 9th September, 1559. The record of the writ itself is still extant, and is printed in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 574. Our immediate authority is Mr. Haddan, *(see Bramhall's Works, iii.* 218,) where it will also be seen that the congé d'élire for Grindal's election to the see of London, is dated June 22d, 1559, and printed in Rymer, xv. 532, and is to be found in Parker's Register. He was elected, July 26th, in the same year, as appears both by his own and Parker's Register; but his election did not receive the Royal assent until December 18th, as appears both by the Patent Rolls, and Parker's Register. He was confirmed, December 20th, and consecrated the 21st; both which appear, by Parker's Register, and the latter fact also by his own. He was installed, according to his own Register, on the 23d of the same month; he did homage in the month of February; and his writ for his temporalities issued, as we have already stated, March 21st, 1559–1560.

Moreover, Parker exercised jurisdiction in the vacant diocese of London, on the 14th December, 1559, and Grindal's first exercise of jurisdiction was on the 22d. All these facts appear on the same page of Haddan's Bramhall, where is also mentioned a fact, of which Archbishop Kenrick may possibly make some use. "In the Life of Jewell, published in 1685," the same Grindal is styled "Archbishop of York," in speaking of the year 1554. Does not this prove that he was a consecrated bishop in Mary's time. It seems, at least, as good evidence of that fact, as Stow's, or his printer's, error is, that he was not consecrated at the time fixed by the same Stow.

Grindal and Parker were both, at this time, in possession of the residences of their respective sees, so far as to occupy

them by consent of the Queen, the guardian of the temporalities, who could make no other use of them. This very probable fact is an ample solution of the wonderful difficulty of our author, and should have saved him from calling a formal statement, in harmony with so many records, a forgery, on the authority of a palpable blunder.

Archbishop Kenrick is manifestly not satisfied with the probable effect of his argument in this chapter, and so he concludes by intimating that were the Register "as certain as it is questionable," and he has not succeeded in shewing that it is at all questionable, "the Anglicans would have but little reason to exult." The clause *supplentes*, it seems, is sufficient to shew that there was some terrible defect in Parker's consecration. "Hence," says he, "the view most favorable to Anglican Orders which can be taken of this vexed question, must present to every reflecting mind, a difficulty scarcely less embarrassing than the denial of the fact." *page* 146. We suppose, however, that some reflecting minds may be comforted by the reflection, that the Romanists have now been for nearly three centuries searching for this terrible defect, that the whole matter has been over and over again thoroughly investigated, and that every thing that the Romanists could discover or invent, has been explained or disproved. Under these circumstances, we think, they may safely rest on the old maxim, *de non apparentibus, and non existentibus eadem est ratio*. The same rule applies to things which do not appear, and to those which do not exist. Reflecting minds, who reflect thus far, will probably conclude, that the Archbishop's attempt to frighten them, like children in the dark, by a bugbear, comes too late; since upon this subject darkness is gone. It then only shews that he feels the weakness of his cause, and like a drowning man, catches at a straw.

He gives another proof of this in a footnote appended to the very last word of the chapter. Typographical errors are of great value to him. In Cardwell's "Documentary

Annals of the Reformed Church of England," the Register of Parker is reprinted. In this place the printer has put *decimo sexto*, for *decimo septimo*, in the title of the account of the consecration. Upon this blunder he triumphantly asks; "Is it so in the original? If so, it is a blunder which destroys the character of the document in which it is found. The 16th of December, 1559, was on Saturday. And yet the copy of this identical document, published in 1674, with attestations of its being conformable, and all subsequent editions of it have Sunday, the 17th December."— To be sure they have; he knows as well as any man can know a thing by evidence, that the original is *decimo septimo*, and that *decimo sexto* is a typographical error. But he cannot afford to lose any argument, however weak. In his anxiety for one, he forgets that if Dr. Cardwell had been the man he insinuates that he is, in the very sentence of the text to which this is a note, he would have taken care to have altered it to *decimo septimo*, had it been necessary. But while thus triumphing over what he knows to be a mere blunder, he conceals the fact, that Dr. Cardwell's reprint does not profess to be from the original, but is actually a reprint of the very certified copy to which he alludes, and in which the 17th is mentioned, both in Bramhall's Works, and in Elrington's book, who copies it from Bramhall's Works, and from whom we copied it in our former Essays. It concludes with the very attestation to which Archbishop Kenrick alludes, with the signature and the date, Jan'y 8th, 1674. *See Cardwell's Documentary Annals, &c. Vol. I. p.* 247. *The document begins on p.* 245. He takes care to tell us that Dr. Cardwell "professes to have collated, in many instances, the documents he publishes with their originals." What Dr. Cardwell really says is, "the collection has been made principally from the Concilia of Wilkins, revised and corrected, in many instances, by a comparison with original documents. Other papers have been added, as they seemed

of sufficient importance, and could be obtained from authentic sources."—*Cardwell, Preface, xxii.* The only documents which he professes to have collated are those taken from Wilkins. But this document is not from Wilkins, and does not profess to be a copy of the original at Lambeth, but from the document so often spoken of, in the Library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge.

Having thus shewn how well entitled he is to throw the first stone at a man guilty of suppressing part of a document; he attacks Dr. Cardwell for omitting "the supplying clause in the Commission of 6th December, an omission which, in the circumstances, cannot but be regarded as deeply significant of its real import." This is wonderful. Dr. Cardwell, in publishing a book in 1839, two hundred and twenty-six years after Mason had mentioned this Commission, finds out for the first time, that the supplying clause, which had been quoted and relied upon, over and over again, by Protestant authors, contains some secret danger to the Protestant cause, and actually omits it in his book, in the hope that nobody will hereafter think any more about it. It is true, it had been published by Rymer, more than a century before, by Courayer also more than a century, and we believe, by the first editor of Bramhall's Works at a still earlier period. It requires the same kind and degree of credulity which can receive the Nag's Head story as a truth, to believe this of a man who has always been held of respectable intellect.

Dr. Cardwell has been guilty of an unpardonable piece of negligence; which certainly diminishes in our eyes the value of his works. He has reprinted from Mason, *page* 126, *edit.* 1613, a sort of extract from the Commission in question, in which the clause *supplentes* is only included under an *etc.*, without perceiving that it was imperfect. Moreover, this extract thus taken from Mason, contains not more than half of the commission. It omits the whole of the recital,

and of the acceptance of the election by the Queen, which omission is signified in Mason by a dash, which is omitted in Cardwell, while the "*etc.*," which indicates the clause *supplentes*, is retained. It begins with the address or direction, and passes on at once to the word *quatenus*, wherefore, without inserting any thing to which that word can refer. The whole is a strange specimen of carelessness, but there is not a shadow of suspicion of any design.

Nor can Mason be suspected of any improper motive for omitting, in that place, any part of the document of which he was about to make use, since he has at pages 132, 133, expressly spoken of the clause *supplentes*, and in the margin of the latter gives some of its very words. Those who throw stones should take care not to live in glass houses.

We have now before us a copy of the Hannow edition of Parker's book *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*. When we wrote the text of page 148, to which this note properly refers, we had no expectation of ever seeing the book, and, in fact, we [illegible] opportunity of examining the [illegible] page [illegible]. There is not the slightest reason to suspect that, that which the Romanist writers are pleased to call "the stray leaf," is not a part of the original volume, and printed consecutively with the rest. The sheet, of which it is a part, consists of two leaves or folios, or four pages, which are numbered 37, 38, 39, 40. The page which immediately precedes them, is numbered 36, that which immediately follows 41. Page 37 is, in fact, the title page on which the arms of Parker so scandalize the Romanists. The true title page gives the title thus: "*De Antiquitate Brittannicæ Ecclesiæ, et nominatim de Priviligiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis atque de Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX. Historia.*" The first thirty-six pages are taken up with a treatise, "*De Vetustate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ Testimonia.* The History of the Archbishops begins on page 41. Page 37 is taken up with the arms of the sees of the Province of Canterbury, each having with it, party per pale, the arms of the bishop who filled the see in 1572, or if, as in the case of Oxford, the see was then vacant, those of the last bishop. The arms of Canterbury impaled with those of Parker, are on a much larger scale than the others, and occupy about a third of the

page. They differ from the others, also, in being included within a square formed by black lines, within which are also the arms of the city of Canterbury, and those of the city of Norwich, the birth-place of Parker. The letters M. P. and the date 1572, are also connected with the arms of the see, as well as the motto; "Mundus transit." Within the square are two smaller squares, in one of which are the words, *De Archiepis. Ecclesie*, and in the other *Cantuarien. Septuagin.* So much for Parker's inordinate vanity in emblazoning his arms. Page 38, contains, in like manner, the arms of the sees in the Province of York, with those of the sitting bishops in 1572, and under them the arms of the bishops who had died during the Archiepiscopate of Parker, in both provinces, impaled with those of their respective sees. They are Yonge of York, Meyrick of Bangor, Kitchen or Dunstan of Llandaff, Barlow of Chichester, Alleye of Exeter, Best of Carlisle, Coren or Curwin of Oxford, and Jewell of Salisbury.

Page 39, contains the table; which is one of all the bishops who had held sees in either province during Parker's archiepiscopate. It contains, in eight columns, the university, diocese, name, academical degree, order, birth-place, and age of each prelate. The remaining column gives the date of his confirmation or consecration. Where a prelate has been translated, the letters *Conf.* for confirmed, are prefixed to the date. The first named is Parker, who is said to have been consecrated, "1559, *Decemb.* 17." The next name is Barlow, "*Conf.* 1559, *Dec.* 20." The third is Kitchen, or Dunstan, consecrated in 1545. The fourth, Scory, with exactly the same remarks as in the case of Barlow. The fifth is Grindal, consecrated for London, 1559, Dec. 21; his confirmation to York, May 22, 1570, is mentioned lower down. Before quitting page 39, we ought to say that the printer has by mistake numbered it 37, but the preceding and following pages are rightly numbered 38 and 40.

Page 40, contains a list of the seventy archbishops of Canterbury, with a reference to the pages on which their respective Lives commence, being in truth a sort of index or contents to the volume. The name of Parker occurs in the proper place, but without a reference, there being no Life of him in the work.

ESSAY V.

PROBABILITIES.

The title of Archbishop Kenrick's second chapter is, "Sentiments of the English Reformers regarding Ordination." Its real object is, to vilify the Church of England, and, through her, that branch of the Holy Catholic Church, which, through her agency, has been planted in these United States. The avowed object is, to establish the improbability of the fact of Parker's consecration; but in that point of view the whole argument is so little to the purpose, so utterly worthless, as to render it certain that the true object is simply to throw discredit on the Reformers. In fact, for the avowed object, the whole chain of reasoning is so far from convincing, that we might safely admit, for the sake of argument, every fact which the Archbishop has alleged, and every inference which he has drawn from those facts, except the final inference of the improbability of Parker's consecration; and he would still be as far from having proved that improbability as ever. In other words, the whole argument is utterly irrelevant, and has not the least tendency to shake the probability of the fact of the consecration. In order to make this appear, we will return to the state of the question, and place it again before the reader, a little more in detail, but the same in substance, as that which we have already adopted from Archbishop Kenrick.

There are two questions depending between the Churches of England and Rome, touching the right of the former to

the position of the legitimate branch of the Holy Catholic Church in England. The first is, has the Church of England valid orders? the second, has she lawful mission? The first in order, must be first discussed; for if the Church of England has not valid orders, she has upon her own principles no mission; though she may have orders without mission, as is actually the case with the Church of Rome, both in England and the United States. Upon this all-important question it is agreed, that the circumstances of Parker's consecration have an important bearing. The questions about that consecration, are again two-fold; was there a consecration in fact? and was it a valid consecration? The last question, again, branches into two, were the consecrators authorized to consecrate validly? and was the form which they used sufficient to convey valid orders?—Of all these questions, it is manifest that the first in natural order is the fact of the consecration; for until that is established, it is in vain to enquire into the validity of what, perhaps, never took place.

It is then averred, on the part of the Church of England, that Matthew Parker was, on the seventeenth day of December, fifteen hundred and fifty-nine, at the archiepiscopal chapel in Lambeth Palace, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgekin. The advocates of the Church of Rome deny the truth of the averment. Thus as clear and distinct an issue in fact is made up as ever was presented to the consideration of a jury. Like every other issue in fact, it is to be decided upon evidence.

The Church of England produces that evidence which is most strictly proper for the occasion, the official record of of the transaction, found in the proper custody; which being not only sufficient evidence, but the strongest conceivable, must be considered as settling the question, until it is itself impeached. The answer is, that the record is a forgery.

The proof clearly lies on those who assert the forgery; but the advocates of the Church of England, not content with that position, produce document after document corroborating the record. Every step which must have been taken previous to the consecration is established by documentary evidence. Other documents are produced, shewing the events which happened afterwards, and which, in a more or less proper sense, were its consequences. These are produced from a variety of depositories, and are found to agree together, in a manner, which can be accounted for only by supposing them true.[i] The answer to this is still, the documents are all forged. Still the proof of forgery must rest upon those who allege it. Archbishop Kenrick is one of them; and he chooses to commence his case by proving that the fact alleged in the record is not probable. How he can suppose, that people of common sense will not see that the probability of the fact has nothing to do with the question, we do not know. If the documents are not forged, the fact, however improbable, is proved to have occurred. If the documents are forged, the forgery must be shewn; but in shewing that forgery, the improbability of the fact can have but little weight. If the question were brought to a measuring cast, as our ancestors used to say, if the documents were so far brought into doubt, that a little thing would decide the question against them, a real improbability might be worthy of some little consideration. But our author, for the purpose of raising a prejudice in the minds of his readers, chooses to begin with a discussion of probabilities. Yet he does not succeed in making out any thing like improbability.

In fact, the probabilities in favor of the actual occurrence of the transaction, to be inferred from facts stated by Arch-

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[i] For these proofs we refer to the "Essays to prove the Validity of Anglican Ordinations," Essay 2, with its notes, and the Appendix to that volume, and to the preceding Essays on this volume

bishop Kenrick himself, are overwhelming. We shall say nothing at present about the laws of the Church, which required consecration, because our case is abundantly strong without it, and because our adversary denies that the law of the Church did require it, and we have not yet, in the present Essay, proved that it did, and also because he maintains that the agents in the transaction did not believe that such was the law of the Church, and did not regard those laws.

But there still remain two circumstances, either of which will shew a very high degree of probability, that such a transaction took place; both these circumstances can be proved from the Archbishop's own book. The first of them is, that the consecration was required by the law of the land, as a prerequisite for Parker's possessing the temporal privileges and emoluments belonging to his office. Archbishop Kenrick has told us, over and over again, that the Ordinal of Edward VI. was the law of the land in December, 1559. If so, that question is settled. But as we have, with great reluctance, come to the conclusion that he is in error upon that question, we shall not rest our argument upon that ground, but upon the statute 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20.[k]

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[k] Archbishop Kenrick is the first Romish writer who has not contended that the Ordinal was not in force; we are the first of the writers on the other side, who has not laboured to establish that it was in force. Of course, when driven to differ from all our predecessors, we do it with diffidence and reluctance. The statute of 25 Henry VIII. chap. 20, contains the following provision, which we copy from the Archbishop's appendix, pp. 311–312, without any other alteration than italicising a single word:

"Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whensoever any such presentment or nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, by virtue and authority of this act, and according to the tenor of the same: That then every Archbishop and Bishop, into whose hands any such presentment and nomination shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, invest and consecrate the person nominate and presented by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, to

The other circumstance is one of still more importance. Archbishop Kenrick informs us, on page 97, that "Eliza-

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the office and dignity that such person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him pall, and all other benedictions, ceremonies and things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring or obtaining hereafter any bulls, or other things at the see of *Rome*, for any such office or dignity in that behalf. And then after he hath made such oath and fealty duly to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as shall be limited for the same, the King's Highness, by his Letters Patents under his great seal, shall signify the said election to one Archbishop, and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, requiring and commanding the said Archbishop and Bishops with all speed and celerity, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected to the office and dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring or obtaining any bulls, briefs, or other things at the said see of *Rome*, or by the authority thereof in any behalf.

"And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every person and persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominate, presented, invested, and *consecrated* to the dignity or office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, according to the form, tenor, and effect of this present act, and suing their temporalities, out of the King's hands, his heirs or successors, as hath been accustomed, and making a corporal oath to the King's Highness, and to none other, in form as is afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be enthronised or installed, as the case shall require, and shall have and take their only restitution out of the King's hands of all the possessions and profits, spiritual and temporal belonging to the said Archbishoprick or Bishoprick whereunto they shall be so elected or presented, and shall be obeyed in all manner of things, according to the name, title, degree, and dignity that they shall be so chosen or presented unto, and do and execute in every thing and things touching the same, as any Archbishop or Bishop of this realm without offending of the prerogative royal of the Crown and the laws and customs of this realm might at any time heretofore do."

beth, who was most anxious that Parker should be consecrated, left as many of Mary's bishops in the possession of their sees as might be required for the performance of that ceremony." Now, that which Elizabeth desired, she generally found means to obtain. He must have been a bold man, and actuated by a strong motive, who set his will against that of Elizabeth Tudor, in England in 1559. We apprehend, that no man did so with impunity.

What difficulty existed in the way of her being gratified in this matter? There were only five wills to be wrought into her measures; those of Parker, Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgekin. Now, three of these, Parker, Barlow and Scory, were in the act, as it were, of seeking preferment at her hands, which they actually got. Would they have got it had they thwarted her? Coverdale and Hodgekin were not actually seeking any thing, but it was, no doubt, an object with them, as with every other man with whom she came in contact, to gain her favor and avoid her anger. They would not willingly have offended her. Archbishop Kenrick will, perhaps, say, that Elizabeth desired a consecration by real bishops, and these were not such. This is not the place to prove that they were. It is sufficient to say that as to Hodgekin, this objection does not apply; his episcopal character has never been denied; he was consecrated according to the Romish Ordinal in the reign of Henry VIII., by two bishops, expressly "acknowledged as such by the Church of Rome: and a third, whose consecration has never been denied, and is supported by abundant evidence." *Essays*, *p.* 194. The other three had all been in possession of sees, and performed episcopal functions, and were, therefore, probably considered by their contemporaries as bishops. Moreover, Elizabeth did desire a consecration by these very men. As to Barlow and Scory, they are called on to perform the rite in the commission of the 9th September, 1559, the genuineness of which Archbishop Kenrick has over

and over asserted, they are all called upon to perform it in the commission of the 6th December, 1559. It is true, that Archbishop Kenrick contends, with very weak reasons, that this commission is a forgery. It has been proved that it is not. We must then treat it as a genuine document. Our argument then stands thus: Elizabeth desired the consecration of Parker, as Archbishop Kenrick admits; the persons alleged to have performed the office, were persons to whom she was very likely to apply, to perform the rite; to two of them she is proved to have applied by an undisputed document, to all by a document that cannot be successfully impeached. Now, we say that this creates an overwhelming probability, even if the record of the consecration did not exist, that it was actually performed by those men. If this probability is to be lessened, it must be by shewing that there was some difficulty in the way.[1]

Now no physical difficulty is pretended; but Archbishop Kenrick is of opinion that these five men incurred the displeasure of Elizabeth, not because they had any scruples about the lawfulness of ordination, but because they doubted, or if he will, disbelieved, its necessity. We shall state the objection in his own words:

"An inquiry into the sentiments concerning the necessity of ordination, entertained and professed by the first bishops of the Anglican Church, will not be without its utility in the examination of the facts

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[1] An examination of Ware's "Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland, from the first Conversion of the Irish Nation to the Christian Faith, down to our own Times." Dublin, folio, 1704, has enabled us to ascertain that there were at least fifteen Irish bishops who conformed to the Reformation, who carried on the succession in their own country, and would have carried it on in England if it had been necessary. It was then utterly unnecessary to have recourse to persons not bishops to consecrate Parker. The names of the Irish bishops, to whom we have alluded, we shall give in a note at the end of this Essay.

which form the subject of the present investigation. If it appears that they recognized the distinction between the priestly and the episcopal order, and acknowledged the necessity of receiving episcopal consecration, we shall reluctantly believe that they neglected to receive it: but if it can be shown that they regarded it either as a useless or superstitious rite; that they recognized in the Temporal Ruler, the power of conferring, not only the jurisdiction, but also the character of a bishop; and that they ridiculed the importance attached by Catholics to this solemn seal of the ministerial character, we shall not be astonished to find their acts in unison with their principles."—*p.* 20.

Now, if these men really considered ordination a useless or superstitious ordinance, it would be surprising if they put themselves out of the way to receive it. But that is not what is alleged. All that is alleged is, that they did not refuse to receive or administer it, when it was required by the law of the land, and the will of an arbitrary sovereign, as the prerequisite to the possession of power, and of competence, at least, if not of wealth. Admitting then, for the sake of argument, that these men did hold that ordination was useless, or even superstitious, as, if it be useless, it certainly is, there is no reason to suppose that they would, on that account, have refused to obey Elizabeth's mandate; more especially if it be true, as Archbishop Kenrick tells us, that they were utterly unprincipled men. One thing cannot be denied; that they held bishoprics; and it is not denied, and if it be, is fully proved, that they consecrated other bishops.

It is remarkable, too, that Archbishop Kenrick makes no attempt to bring home to four of the five, any personal doubt of the necessity of orders. He leaves us to infer that they doubted, from the general doubt, which he vainly attempts to shew, pervaded the Church of England. A doubt, which, if it existed, has never interfered with the careful preservation of the Anglican succession, whether that succession be Apostolical or not. Why it should have had so

much power in 1559, and none afterwards, our author will find it difficult to explain. But, as we before remarked, he makes no attempt to shew the existence of a personal doubt, or indifference, in any of the five persons interested, except Barlow. Barlow is no favorite of ours; and we incline to the opinion that he really did not care much about orders. We think, too, that he, who was at first, if Archbishop Kenrick be not mistaken, and we are not prepared to shew that he is, a disregarder of orders and an ultra-Protestant, then held a bishopric after the passage of the six articles, then was a Protestant again in the reign of Edward VI., then wrote in defence of Romanism under Mary, and was finally a Protestant once more under Elizabeth, was not a man of very strict principles. In fact, we think that he was the very man to do whatever the Queen desired, and, therefore, see no great improbability in his joining in the consecration of Parker; even had he thought it a wrong thing. Archbishop Kenrick has produced no evidence that he did think so, but only that he thought it unnecessary. He did not, as we have said, care much about orders; but then, we believe, that he did care much about the bishopric of Chichester, which was to provide for his subsistence. With respect to the others, there is no evidence, even supposing all that the Archbishop has asserted to be true, that they thought less of orders than many other persons who have received them. The late Dr. Arnold, for instance, published his opinion that if the Nag's Head tale had been true, Parker would have been as much the successor of the Apostles as if he had been regularly consecrated. Does any one doubt, that if Dr. Arnold had been offered a bishopric, he would have accepted it and undergone consecration, and if required, joined in consecrating others? Yet the opinions of Barlow, as stated by Archbishop Kenrick, are not more opposed to ordination than those of Dr. Arnold. But if Arnold's is a supposed

case, those of his friends, Hampden and Whately are not. Yet the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Hereford, have been consecrated, and the former is, by his office, especially bound to consecrate others. Does any one suppose that either of them holds orders in any higher estimation than Arnold or Barlow? Again: Archbishop Kenrick cites Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, to shew the low estimation in which the Church of England holds ordination. But Burnet in that book certainly expressed his own opinions, whether he did those of the Church or not, and yet Burnet was consecrated, and joined in consecrating others. If Burnet could do so, holding those opinions, how could the same opinions, supposing them to be those of the Church, and to have been held by Parker and his consecrators, have operated to render his consecration improbable; when whatever temptations operated on the minds of Whately, Hampden and Burnet, operated on those of Parker, and at least two of the consecrators.

We have then, we think, established three propositions. First, that in the present state of the question, as it is presented in the beginning of Archbishop Kenrick's book, before the production of any reason for believing the record of the consecration forged, the question of probability is irrelevant. Next, that even if it be relevant, there is an overwhelming amount of probability in favor of the consecration. And last, that the charges which Archbishop Kenrick has brought against the Church, or against Barlow individually, do not cast the least shadow of improbability upon the fact of Parker's consecration, as alleged by us and other advocates of the validity of Anglican Ordinations. Whether that consecration was valid, we admit, is another question, which we reserve for future discussion. All that remains in the second chapter of the book before us, we might, so far as the argument upon the principal subject is concerned, pass

over; but it was intended to vilify the Church, and in that point of view we feel bound to take some notice of it.

Our author's design is to shew, that the doctrine of the succession and of orders was at so low an ebb in the Church of England, that the bishops and rulers of the Church did not care for it. To establish this point he cites several authorities. The articles, which are certainly very proper to be referred to on the occasion, the translation of the Bible, which is called the Bishop's Bible, and seven individuals mostly unimportant. The seven individuals are Luther, Cranmer, Barlow, Bancroft, Heylin, Burnet and McCrie. To cite the last as an authority, is little short of ludicrous.—Archbishop Kenrick might as well cite himself. If, indeed, he only adopts McCrie's words as expressing his own opinion in better language than he can find for himself, it is all very well; but he is no authority. Dr. McCrie, a very respectable man, of whom we desire to say nothing but what is kind, was a minister of one of the sects which have seceded from the, so called, Kirk of Scotland. Consequently he is about as far removed from the Church on one side as Archbishop Kenrick on the other, and about as hostile to it. He wrote within the present century. Now, suppose we were to quote the opinion of some living Anglican divine, Dr. Hook for instance, that the English Reformers attached great importance to the succession; what would be Archbishop Kenrick's reply? He would say, and very properly, Dr. Hook lived too late to know any thing about the facts, except from sources equally accessible to any other man of learning, and he is, moreover, a partizan, committed to the cause of the Church of England; his opinions are, therefore, of no authority. Now, we say that Dr. McCrie lived too late to know any thing about the facts, except from sources equally accessible to any other man of learning, and he is, moreover, a partizan, committed against the Church of

England, and to the notion of ministerial parity; his opinions are, therefore, of no authority.[m]

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[m] The only shadow of authority which Archbishop Kenrick can derive from his mention of McCrie, is to be found in the following statement: "Hooper, in a letter dated February 8th, 1550, informs Bullinger that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, agreed *in all things*, with the Helvetic Churches. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, does the same thing." We know not whether we are indebted to Dr. McCrie or Dr. Kenrick for the *italics*, but we presume they are not Hooper's. The statement is too general to be deliberate, or to be a foundation for an argument. The words, "in all things," may have been used with reference to the particular class of things in the writer's mind, and even then, such very general statements are seldom accurately true. Besides, it is evident that McCrie is not speaking precisely; for he says Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, says the same thing. Now, he was not Bishop of Norwich until 1560, when all the persons named in Hooper's letter, except Barlow, Bishop of Bath, were dead. If Parkhurst wrote that the Reformers of his time agreed with the Helvetic Churches, that is not the same thing that Hooper had said. It is not true that all the Reformers agreed in all things with any body; for they did not agree among themselves in all things. The names "High Church" and "Low Church," are of comparatively modern origin; but the things existed in 1550; at that time Hooper himself was the leader of one party, and Ridley of the other. The Bishops named are Cranmer, either Ridley or Poynet, for both were Bishops of Rochester in that year, but most probably Ridley, Goodrick, Farrar, Holbeach and Barlow. Now, these men, if Ridley were one of them, did not agree among themselves, for several of the others were Puritans. The whole statement is too vague, especially when taken in connexion with the undeniable fact, that episcopal government was practically maintained in the Church of England, so that if the Helvetic Churches rejected it upon principle, of which there is some doubt, it is clear that the governing power of the Church of England did not agree with them upon that point. Moreover, there is no doubt that the courtiers of Edward would have been just as glad of bishop's lands, as those of Henry were of abbey lands, there must then have been some strong reason for keeping up the epis-

Luther was no minister or member of the Church of England, and he died before the period of which we are treating. He is not, however, cited historically, but an extreme opinion of his is brought forward, and charged upon the Church of England, by a logical argument, more curious than sound. The opinion is, that all Christians are equally priests, in the highest sense of the word, and have equally the power of the Word and Sacraments. Now, we are told that our author has noticed this strange fancy, "because the great patriarch of Anglicanism, Cranmer, is known to have imbibed his principles." Some of them he certainly did, but both Luther and Cranmer held principles at one time of their lives, which they rejected at another. Cranmer, therefore, would scarcely have adopted all Luther's prin-

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copate; and that could only have been principle, somewhere. Now, this principle probably extended itself, as every one, who does not, like our author, suppose all the Reformers to have been incorrigible villains and hypocrites, must admit, to those who compiled the Ordinal, in which episcopacy is so clearly asserted. Now, among those men were Cranmer, Goodrick, Holbeach and Ridley, four, or certainly three, of Hooper's bishops who agreed with the Helvetic Churches in all things, and one afterwards one of the Elizabethan bishops. We take their names from Cardwell's "Two Books of Common Prayer," &c. p. xiii. note n., where is given a list of the commission for compiling the liturgy of 1549, and, according to the same book, the same commission was continued for the purpose of preparing the Ordinal. This does not, however, appear to us absolutely certain, as Burnet gives the name of Heath as one of the commission, which is not included in Cardwell's list, and that list consists of thirteen names instead of twelve. But the bishops we have named, were among the prominent men of the Reformation at the time, and if not actually in the commission, were men who would be consulted with. At any rate, it is strange for any one, on the authority of a vague general statement like that of Hooper, to assert that the leading divines of the Church of England, held the presbyterian notions of the Swiss in the very same year in which the Ordinal was published.

ciples in a mass, since they were not all consistent. No proof is offered that he had adopted this one, and in fact the loose opinions on the subject of ordination which Cranmer held, proceeded upon a quite different theory. But even if Cranmer held the Lutheran notion, that would not fix it upon the Church of England, which has never adopted Cranmer's notions in a body. Luther held consubstantiation, and there is no doubt that Cranmer at one time adopted it from him; but it has never been the doctrine of the Church of England. But the Archbishop had come across Luther's strange opinion, it would startle his readers, and therefore it must be brought into his book, although totally irrelevant to his argument.

The next of his authorities is Cranmer himself. We are not going to involve ourselves in the personal disputes between Archbishop Kenrick and Mr. Russell, upon the subject of Cranmer and his Erastian opinions. It suffices for us, that whether Mr. Russell and ourselves, formerly misunderstood the Archbishop or not, he now declares that he did not impute the Erastianism of Cranmer to any of the bishops except himself and Barlow. Now, we have never supposed that there could be any doubt of the Erastianism of those two prelates, at the date of those answers. There is to our minds sufficient evidence, that Cranmer, whose opinions all know were very variable, afterwards changed his views on the subject. Archbishop Kenrick thinks that he did not. We have not space for an argument on the question, and we do not think it an important one. Cranmer was dead at the time of Parker's consecration, and his private opinions could have no effect at that time, except as they had become embodied in the doctrines of the Church, or received into the minds of individuals. No attempt has been made to shew that any of the individuals connected with the consecration held those opinions except Barlow. As to the Church, we have shewn in our former "Essays" that she

had certainly rejected the Erastian views of Cranmer's answers. Our author has not attempted to reply to the argument we then offered, although he says something to an argument of straw, which he has set up in its place. To this question we shall come in due time. At present we desire to make a single remark; which, however, cannot be understood without some previous explanation. Among the arguments which Mr. Russell adduced in favor of his opinion, that Cranmer had changed his Erastian opinions, he referred to an act of the Convocation of 1543. That body, according to Mr. Russell, put forth a book containing a declaration, "that Order is a gift or grace of ministration in CHRIST'S Church, given of GOD to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the bishop's hands upon them. And as the Apostles themselves, in the beginning of the Church, did order priests and bishops, so they appointed and willed the other bishops after them to do the like."—The book in which this declaration is contained, was, says Mr. Russell, "revised by Cranmer, and referred to the convocation shortly after his 'Answer to the Questions on the Sacraments' were written."—*Kenrick, p.* 22. Such is our author's account of his adversaries' argument; in reply to it he says: "How far the declaration of the convocation may be supposed to express the individual opinion of Cranmer, cannot now be known; as such declaration was in accordance with the sentiments of the majority of the members composing that body." Now, this is true, and very pertinent to the question about Cranmer's individual opinion; unless it be true that the book was really revised by him, and passed by the convocation in the shape in which he presented it. But if it be true, that an act of convocation is no proof of what were Cranmer's "individual sentiments," as it undoubtedly is, then it follows that Cranmer's individual sentiments are no evidence of the doctrines of the Church of England; for these sentiments may have been overruled.

Yet Archbishop Kenrick seeks to make the Church answerable, not only for Cranmer's private opinions, but for those of Luther, because Cranmer had adopted his principles.

We would not willingly charge the Archbishop with conscious unfairness; but such blowing hot and cold indicates a partiality for one side, which, although it may not be understood by him who is under its influence, is nearly allied to that unscrupulousness to which we alluded in our preliminary [illegible]. A similar instance is to be found on page 22, where, in reply to a charge of unfairness brought against him by Mr. Russell, grounded on the fact that he had referred "to the abridgment of Burnet when I," he, "could have referred to the original text from which I," he, "had immediately before made a quotation; especially as Burnet indicates a probable change of opinion on the subject, in Cranmer." He says; "whether the change of opinion in Cranmer, if it really took place, justifies the charge of unfairness, the reader must determine. I am not charged with mistating Cranmer's answer, nor with misquoting the abridgment of Burnet. A writer is certainly at liberty to exercise his judgment, as well in selecting his authorities as in estimating the force of arguments." Undoubtedly; but if he exercises his privilege by selecting an abridgment, or other secondary authority, when the original is at hand, most readers will determine that he is consciously, or unconsciously, influenced by a desire to conceal something in the original work. Moreover, to justify such a step, as leaving the original for an abridgment, by the right of exercising a man's judgment as to what authorities are most likely to be convincing to his readers, indicates a mind much inclined to sophistry. It renders it necessary for every reader to be on his guard, when perusing the writings of the author who uses such an argument.

Our author's next authority is Barlow, the case certainly bearing most strongly on the point of any which he has ad-

duced. Of his Erastianism, we have ourselves no doubt, and as he is one of the consecrators of Parker, his private opinions may fairly enter into the question. This part of our case must rest upon what we have said in the earlier part of this essay. Barlow was an Erastian, and moreover, wanted to get something from the civil authority. It was not, therefore, likely that he would refuse to consecrate Parker, if the Queen wished it, as it is conceded that she did, merely because he himself thought consecration of little or no consequence. It is not even pretended, that he held any principle which would have been violated by the act.[n]

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[n] We shall in this note call the attention of the reader to another instance of Archbishop Kenrick's peculiarities, in connexion with the affairs of Bishop Barlow. The matter belongs most properly to a subsequent part of the discussion; but the Archbishop has thought proper to introduce a footnote on the subject, at the point which we are now about leaving. We shall accordingly remark upon it, in the same way, before we go on with our text. Having introduced into his text a quotation from Courayer on the subject of an Erastian declaration, said to have been made by Barlow in 1536, he appends the following note, which, however, seems more directly to relate to his answers to the famous questions of 1537. After giving the passage from Courayer, from which the quotation was taken, the note goes on thus; it will be found on page 25.

"Mr. Evans charges me with inconsistency, to which Mr. Russell, with that discourtesy which characterizes his *Refutation*, adds, by way of alternative, the charge of dishonesty, because I attribute these sentiments to Barlow, whom I subsequently deny to have been Bishop of St. David's; whereas, the word *Menevensis* "*of St. David's*," is given in the record whence the answers are taken. I reply, 1. I quote Courayer who attributes them to Barlow. 2. I did not deny that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's, but stated the motives which, some have thought, render it questionable. 3. I never quoted these answers, or the charge against Barlow, to prove that he was not Bishop of St. David's, as Mr. Russell affirms, however, I may have made use of them to sustain the

The next of Archbishop Kenrick's authorities, in chronological order is Bancroft; but we shall for the present pro-

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position, that, whether Bishop of St. David's or not, there is reason to doubt that he was consecrated."

In connexion with this note, we shall place two or three passages from his text. On page 156, having introduced the conclusive proof that Barlow did sit in Parliament in 1536, which we produced in our former work at page 170, he goes on to say: "Although I am nowise concerned to deny what is here asserted, that Barlow sat in Parliament as Bishop of St. David's in 1536, because I shall establish beyond the possibility of a doubt, that his consecration cannot be inferred from this fact. I must apprise the reader that the above statement is apparently contradicted by two documents, which would shew that neither in 1536, nor in 1541, was Barlow Bishop of St. David's."—*Kenrick*, page 156. The questions connected with those documents belong to another part of our task; our present design is only to let the reader see that the Archbishop did deny that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's. This was on page 156. On page 157 he says; "I waive all advantage which might be derived from those two documents, and admit all that the extract produced by Mr. Evans asserts—that Barlow sat as Bishop of St. David's in Parliament." In the next paragraph he says; "Without incurring the censure of inconsistency, or meriting Mr. Evans' unjustifiable insinuations, I could speak of Barlow as Bishop of St. David's; a thing which I asserted was the general belief, but respecting which I observed, there was some very serious difficulties. Neither do I now deny that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's; but I deny that the proofs adduced to establish that fact justify the conclusion which Mr. Evans wishes to infer from them, and the only thing which is material, namely, Barlow's consecration." One would imagine that we had introduced the question of Barlow's possession of the see of St. David's into the controversy, as the only proof of Barlow's consecration. Now, every one who has read any thing on the subject, knows that it is only one link in a chain of circumstances, by which we, and much abler men, have sought to establish that fact. Whether it is entitled to any weight in the discussion of that question or not, is one thing, whether it is true is another. If it were true, those who were endeavouring to prove the fact of Barlow's consecration, were entitled to use it for what it might

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ceed with Heylin, because, although later in point of time than Bancroft, he is produced to prove facts which occurred in the reign of Edward VI., which Bancroft is not.

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be worth. What is Archbishop Kenrick's course? He tells us, on page 25, that he "did not deny that Barlow was Bishop of St. David's, but stated the motives which some have thought rendered it questionable." And on page 157, he distinctly admits that Barlow sat in Parliament as Bishop of St. David's, that he was recognized by the government as the possessor of the see, and was consequently as much Bishop of St. David's as any man could be who was not consecrated.—Moreover, no instance can be shewn of a bishop remaining in such a position, for any length of time, without consecration. We state our position at the very lowest. The fact then certainly affords some presumption of consecration. *For that reason, and for that reason only*, the Romanists, and Archbishop Kenrick among them, deny the fact. For the Archbishop does virtually deny it, by arguing against it. Either it is true, and in that case he cannot honestly argue against it; or it is false, and in that case he ought to deny it. His hanging between two opinions, *not denying it*, and yet arguing against it, is inadmissible. But not only did he argue against it, but he even treated as doubtful, the fact that Barlow was the person translated from St. David's to Bath and Wells, in the reign of Edward VI., because in the documents connected with the transaction he was called William, Bishop of St. David's. (See his first edition, pages 140–141.) Yet in another place, of that same edition, he inclines to believe "that at least under the latter," Edward VI., "he," Barlow, "was Bishop of Bath and Wells." If he were so, it was because he was translated from St. David's. Now, what Archbishop Kenrick should do, is this; he should take care to treat facts either as true or false, and not sometimes as true, and sometimes as false, as suits his present convenience. A few words more about ourselves. We make no insinuations, and have made none. We have contented ourselves with proving such things as the necessities of our position compelled us to prove, against Archbishop Kenrick, without directly making any charge. But we have made no insinuations whatever, nor have we stated any thing as a fact which we did not prove.

The paragraph in which he is mentioned, is as follows:

"On the accession of Edward VI., Cranmer took out a new commission to exercise his episcopal functions, thereby to express more clearly his favourite principle, that all authority, ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the throne. Every thing was done to confirm this error. The bishops were made by the king's letters patent, and not, as before, by the election of the chapters; all processes and writings were made in the king's name only, with the bishop's attestation appended to it, and they were sealed with no other than the king's seal. 'The intent of the contrivers of this act,' says Dr. Heylin, 'was by degrees to weaken the episcopal order, by forcing them from their strong hold of divine institution, and making them no other than the king's ministers only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs, to execute his will and dispense his mandates.' Such was the practical effect of these measures, that the bishops were rendered incapable of conferring orders, unless previously empowered by a special license, the tenor whereof was in these words: 'The king to such a bishop, greeting: Whereas all and all manner of jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the king, as from the supreme head of all the body, &c., we therefore give and grant to thee full power and license to continue during our good pleasure, for holding ordination within thy diocese of N., and for promoting fit persons into holy orders, even to that of the priesthood."—*Kenrick, p.* 27.

The whole paragraph, of which our author has given a part, stands, in Heylin, thus:

"But that which made the greatest alteration, and threatened most danger to the state ecclesiastical, was the act entitled, "*An Act for the Election of Bishops, and what seals and styles shall be used by spiritual persons*," *&c.* In which it was ordained, (for I shall only repeat the sum thereof,) that, bishops should be made by the King's letters patents, and not by the election of the deans and chapters; that all their processes and writings should be in the King's name only, with the bishop's teste added to it; and sealed with no other seal but the King's, or such as should be authorized and appointed by him. In the compounding of which act there was more danger couched than at first appeared. By the last branch thereof, it was plain and evident that the intent of the contrivers was by degrees to weaken the authority of

the Episcopal order, by forcing them from their strong hold of Divine institution, and making them no other than the King's ministers only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs (as a man might say,) to execute his will, and dispense his mandates. And of this act such use was made, (though possibly beyond the true intention of it,) that the bishops of those times were not in a capacity of conferring orders, but as they were thereunto empowered by special license. The terms whereof, (if Sanders is to be believed,) was in the words following, viz: *The King to*, such a bishop, *Greeting. Whereas all and all manner of jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the King as from the Supreme Head of all the body, &c. We therefore give and grant to thee full power and license, to continue during our good pleasure, for holding ordination within the diocese of N. and for promoting fit persons unto holy orders, even to that of the priesthood.* Which being looked on by Queen Mary not only as a dangerous diminution of the Episcopal power, but as an odious innovation in the Church of CHRIST; she caused this act to be repealed in the first year of her reign, leaving the bishops to depend on their former claim and to act all things which belonged to their jurisdiction in their own names, and under their own seals, as in former times. In which estate they have continued without any legal interruption from that time to this."—*Heylin, Ecclesia Restaurata*, 51-52. Ed. 1690

On this passage of Heylin we desire to make one remark; it is, that whatsoever may have been the character of the Act of Edward VI., and Archbishop Kenrick does not think worse of than we do, it is in nowise chargeable upon the consecrators of Parker, or upon those who were in power in England in 1559, whether Churchmen or statesmen. It was passed in the second year of Edward VI., under the influence of the Church robbers, the Somersets, Warwicks, and Bedfords, who afterwards ate one another up, or at any rate were not in power in 1559. The act had been repealed by Queen Mary; and it was not revived. The bishops of the Church of England are, and Parker at his consecration was, as if it had never been. It did not then express the opinions of the men in power in 1559, and cannot fairly be urged against them. Yet Archbishop Kenrick says nothing of the

fact, that Elizabeth, and her advisers in ecclesiastical matters, did not revive it when they had the power; and consequently must be supposed not to have approved of it.

We also desire to remark, that it appears from the act itself, and even from the part of it which Archbishop Kenrick has republished in his Appendix, page 313, that it required consecration, only substituting the King's letters patent, for the *congé d'elire*, election, and confirmation; consequently no inference can be drawn from it, that even its "contrivers" to use the phrase of Dr. Heylin, did not think that rite necessary. If their views had been such as are imputed by Archbishop Kenrick to the Church of England, and there had been no persons to be consulted who held other views, the addition of two words in one place, and the omission of three in another, would have made the bishops exactly "ecclesiastical sheriffs." Now, this was not done. The fact can only be accounted for, either because the contrivers themselves believed in the succession, which we do not believe, or because they feared the opposition of those who did; that is, of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England.

In pursuing our examination of Archbishop Kenrick's authorities, if they may be so called, we now come to the case of Bancroft. For the better understanding of this case, it will be well to look at the scope of the argument of the Archbishop in the chapter which we are now considering.—The design of the whole chapter is to shew that the sentiments of the English Reformers, on the subject of holy orders, were such that it is not likely that they would have taken the trouble to have Parker consecrated; we have already given our views as to the value of this argument in general, and are now examining the value of the particular facts which he has adduced in support of his position.—Among the names which he has pressed into this service, is that of Archbishop Bancroft; whose sentiments upon the subjects of orders and succession are to be shewn to be such

as to render it unlikely that the clergymen of the preceding generation, among whom he was educated, attached sufficient importance to Episcopal consecration to induce them to submit to it, in compliance, at once, with the laws of the land and the desire of the Queen, upon whom they depended for preferment. With how much propriety Bancroft's opinions are thus introduced, the reader will learn from the following sentences transcribed from Archbishop Kenrick's own book:

"On the 12th of January, 1588, a sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, by Dr. Bancroft, then chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he succeeded in the archiepiscopal chair, after occupying for a time the see of London. 'In it,' says Hetherington, a Presbyterian writer, 'he maintained that bishops were a distinct order from priests or presbyters, and had authority over them *jure divino*, and directly from GOD.'"—*Kenrick, p* 11.

Archbishop Kenrick, in his first edition, mentioned the same observations of Bancroft, upon which he now relies. In our reply, we made the following remarks, which we introduce here for reasons which will presently appear:

"The other story upon which our author relies to prove that the Reformers did not value ordination, relates to matters which occurred fifty-one years after Parker's consecration. In 1610 certain Scots, who had received none but Presbyterian ordination, came to London to be consecrated Bishops for the Church in Scotland. A question arose whether they ought not to be first ordained deacons and priests. Archbishop Bancroft, who then held the see of Canterbury, but who was a boy, of about fifteen, at the time of Parker's consecration, was of course called on for an opinion on this question. He has frequently been, and by Mr. Kenrick is, represented as maintaining upon the occasion, a doctrine which was inconsistent with all the rest of his life, and with the particular transaction about which he was engaged. Bancroft was always regarded as a high churchman, and as such must have regarded ordination by bishops as necessary, at least under ordinary circumstances. He must, as such, at least, have held with Hooker, that, "cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain, but only bishops: by the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth

power of order, both unto presbyters and deacons." Although he may have held with the same great divine, that "when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the Church, which at present we would willingly keep: where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary institution of GOD, hath given oftentimes and may give place.' Consistently with these opinions of Hooker, he may have held, as we know Hooker held, that the Scottish Church laboured under such an impossibility of having a bishop to ordain, and that therefore her ordinations were valid without one; but this view is very different from that contempt for orders, which Mr. Kenrick desires to impute to the Reformers. Again, if Bancroft's opinion be correctly reported by Mr. Kenrick, for what purpose did the Scots come to London, and why were the English bishops to lay hands upon them? If they were already priests, and priests could ordain as well as Bishops, why did they not proceed to act as bishops, upon the election or appointment which they had already received? But suppose that he held the doctrines above quoted from Hooker, and believed, as he very consistently might, that although the ordinations by presbyters in Scotland had been previously valid; yet now that the Scottish Church had it in her power to obtain Episcopal orders, she was bound to do so; this would account for his concurrence in consecrating the Scottish Bishops, without insisting on their re-ordination. But is it not clear that upon this theory he must have believed that the Church of England had the true succession, the power of giving to the Scots better orders than they had previously, possessed? If so he believed that Parker had been really consecrated, and is a witness against Mr. Kenrick, shewing what was the opinion of those among whom he had been brought up—the divines of the Church of England, who were contemporary with Parker and the bishops whom he consecrated."—*Evans' Essays, pp.* 25, 26, 27.

Archbishop Kenrick, perhaps through our fault, has misconceived the point of our argument, in the above passage, and is needlessly triumphant upon the authority of Courayer. We never intended to deny that Bancroft might have used the expressions attributed to him by Courayer, but only to assert, that Archbishop Kenrick and others had misunderstood those expressions, when they supposed them to involve such a

contempt for holy orders, as Romanists are fond of imputing to the Reformers. In support of our view, we offered two arguments; one, derived from the general character of Bancroft's opinions, which is a good deal strengthened by the passage we have just above quoted from Archbishop Kenrick; the other, founded upon the particular transaction about which he was engaged. The last of these arguments he mutilates, takes away altogether from the connexion in which it was introduced, and the position which it was adduced to support, and applies it to the support of another, which, to be sure, if fairly stated, it will support, and then, being in fact unable to answer it, gravely says; "I leave this argument to its own merits."—*p.* 33. We are perfectly willing to do the same when it is fairly brought before the reader's mind.

With respect to the other of our two arguments, he uses the following language:

"Mr. Evans calls in question the opinion here attributed to Bancroft, because this latter, as a high churchman, must at least 'have held with Hooker, that, cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only bishops; by the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth the power of order both unto presbyters and deacons.' Nothing is ascribed to Bancroft, which, if Mr. Evans adopts Hooker's principle, might not be ascribed to himself. What constitutes 'inevitable necessity,' may be variously estimated."—*Kenrick, p.* 32

In precisely the same spirit he had before, after giving a misstatement of one of our arguments, said:

"And then he asks, 'how is it possible in the face of these articles thus adopted, to assert that he' (Cranmer) 'and his fellow bishops did not hold the necessity of Episcopal ordination, or to imagine that they did not at least believe themselves to possess it?' Might not they, as well as Hooker, have excepted the case of inevitable necessity? May they not have looked on their case as such a one, and have believed, with Burnet, 'that necessity is a law to itself?'"—*Kenrick, p.* 31.

To be sure they might have excepted the case of inevitable necessity. What then? Archbishop Kenrick's argument falls

to the ground. Can any man be so blind, as not to see the distinction, between believing that orders derived through the Apostolic succession are generally necessary, yet that as necessity is a law to itself, the existence of an impossibility to obtain such orders will justify men in acting without them, and an utter disregard of the whole doctrine of orders and succession? Now, it is this last notion which our author attempts to impute to the Reformers; and we have shewn that he must establish even more than this, to get a good ground upon which to establish his ultimate argument. But thus much he certainly imputes to the Reformers. If then it be conceded, that they would willingly have had the Apostolic succession if they could, and even preferred that position, which is certainly true, if they agreed either with Hooker or Burnet, his argument falls. Of course, this argument applies to the opinion of Bancroft. If his opinions went no further than those of Hooker, no inference can be drawn from them against the willingness of the Reformers, whose opinions he is supposed to have imbibed, to submit to the rite of consecration.

We come now to the actual quotation from Courayer, which is the foundation of Archbishop Kenrick's charge against Archbishop Bancroft. In order that our readers may understand this subject, we again copy from our former work. The passage is immediately in continuation of that which we have before introduced.

"Now according to Courayer, this was Bancroft's doctrine. But the main ground of his opinion, that the Scots need not be re-ordained deacons and priests, was '*that the Episcopal power did supply all other orders.*' Mr. Kenrick relies on Courayer for his version of the story. Let us compare his quotation from Courayer with what Courayer really wrote.

"'Some,' says Mr. Kenrick, 'at least one of the English bishops, insisted on the necessity of their being re-ordained priests and deacons; inasmuch as they had never received those orders from a bishop; but 'Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,' says *Courayer*, 'maintained

that the ordination given by priests ought to be esteemed valid, though it was not administered by bishops, for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers.'—p. 34.

"We shall now give the passage as it appears in Courayer, putting in italics the words which Mr. Kenrick did not observe, and remarking by the way, that he has not given the page from which he took his extract.

"There was a difficulty which arose about this consecration, because the bishop of Ely [Andrews] insisted to have the ministers ordained priests, before they were consecrated, they not having received the order of priesthood from any bishop. But Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, maintained that the ordination given by priests ought to be esteemed valid, *when bishops were wanting to administer it*, for otherwise the greatest part of the reformed churches would be found to want ministers, *and that the Episcopal power did otherwise supply the other orders: for which he brought examples out of antiquity.*"—*Courayer's Defence, &c. Williams' translation*, 8vo. *London*, 1723, p. 22—*New Translation*, p. 35."—*Evans' Essays, pp.* 27, 28.

In addition to this passage, Archbishop Kenrick, immediately [illegible] his remarks from the last quotation, says:

"[illegible]ns has, then, no motive to call this statement in question, resting, as it does, on unsuspicious authority. This gentleman insinuates a change of suppression against me, because the words, 'though it was not administered by bishops,' should have been, according to him, 'when bishops were wanting to administer it.' I copied the English translator of Courayer, whom this latter complimented on the fidelity of his translation, to whom Mr. Evans himself refers, and whom he should have consulted, before charging me with an unfaithful representation of the passage. Whatever were the words used by Bancroft, nothing is more evident than that he did not regard the episcopal character as absolutely necessary for the transmission of ministerial powers.

"Mr. Russell accuses me of disingenuousness, because I omitted to state another reason, attributed to Bancroft, and which forms part of the sentence from which my quotation was made. He also intimates a similar charge, because in referring to Collier I did not notice Heylin's account of Bancroft's motive for not re-ordaining the Scotch presbyters. This motive, which is also assigned by Courayer, was Bancroft's opinion, that episcopacy supplied all the inferior orders. As this second motive

of Bancroft does nowise affect the one first assigned, and has no bearing whatever on the point in hand, I submit that there was no disingenuousness in passing it over in silence; and Mr. Russell must have been very anxious to impeach my trust-worthiness, when he urged the omission as a fault. Mr. Evans says that Bancroft is a witness against me, because, by requiring the Scotch presbyters to come to London for the purpose of receiving episcopal consecration, he showed his conviction, that not only presbyters could not ordain bishops, but that he himself was a link in the chain of apostolical succession, and consequently, that Parker must have been consecrated. I shall leave this argument to its own merits. On this occasion Mr. Evans insinuates a charge of unfairness against me, because, according to him, I did not give the page whence my extract from Courayer was taken. On such slight grounds is this gentleman disposed to indulge in offensive imputations. And yet even this ground is an oversight of his own. "*I did give the page?*"—*Kenrick, pp.* 32, 33.

We have to ask the Archbishop's pardon, for our carelessness in overlooking his reference to the page in a footnote; but we founded no insinuation upon so trivial a fact. We understood ourselves to assert that the passage from Courayer was garbled; and so far were we from not consulting the author, that we proved our charge, by printing the passage as our author gave it, and also the passage as we read it in Courayer, and *italicising* the words which we courteously called those "which Mr. Kenrick did not observe." These words form two members of the same sentence, ~~may be seen in the last extract from our former work, which we have above given.~~ With respect to the first, Archbishop Kenrick must be acquitted of the charge of garbling; the difference is the difference of editions; it appears that he used the copy of Williams' Courayer, which belongs to the Philadelphia Library Company, and which is of the edition of 1725; we, that belonging to the Library Company of Baltimore, which is of the edition of 1728. In the first of these editions the words are wanting; in the second, they are found. But with respect to the second point, the closing

member of the sentence, the Archbishop admits that he omitted the words, and that they formed "a part of the sentence from which his quotation was made." His defence our readers have seen above. But if every man is to omit whatever parts of a sentence, have, in his judgment, no bearing on the point in hand, quotations will be entitled to very little credit. Archbishop Kenrick evidently thinks that the point in hand is the proving his case, and that whatever has no tendency in that direction, has no bearing on the point in hand. But we conceive, that in this case the particular point in hand was, to ascertain what were the opinions of Bancroft upon the doctrines of Holy Orders and the Episcopacy, and he had, therefore, a right to be allowed to finish his sentence. We are the more sure of this, because the closing member of that sentence shews that he was so far from holding that doctrine in contempt, that he had studied it closely, and entertained a high notion of the gift of the Episcopate.

Having disposed of the case of Bancroft, we now come to that of Burnet. Archbishop Kenrick has rendered this somewhat more easy to us, by inserting in his Appendix large extracts from Burnet's Commentary on the twenty-third article; thus furnishing us with an abundant supply of materials for his own refutation. In these extracts, Burnet sets the example, which has been followed by Archbishop Kenrick, of treating that article without proper reference to another, intimately connected with it. He consequently takes a lower view of the teaching of the Church of England than we do. He states, without doubt truly, that the Reformers, and their successors, did not, for near eighty years after the articles were published, question the constitution of the foreign Churches. In another place he says; "we are very sure that not only those who formed the articles, but the body of the Church, for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the foreign

Churches, so constituted, to be true Churches, as to all the essentials of a Church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still in an imperfect state."—This is the extent to which Burnet goes in the depreciation of orders. It is worthy of remark, too, that in the beginning of the extract, where he is laying down his general principles, he takes a distinction in which, if we understand it, we do not fully concur, between those things which "have a natural influence on us, to make us fit and capable subjects of the mercy of GOD," and "such things as are necessary only by a command of GOD, and not by virtue of any real efficiency which they have to reform our natures."—These last, he thinks, "are not necessary in the same order with the first," but he explicitly says, that they "do indeed oblige us to seek for them and to use all our endeavours to have them." After a few more words, he goes on to say: "But to the matter in hand. That which is simply necessary as a mean to preserve the order and union of a body of Christians, and to maintain the reverence due to Holy things, is that no man enter upon any part of the Holy ministry, without he be chosen and called to it, by such as have an authority so to do; that I say is fixed by the article, but men are left more at liberty as to their thoughts concerning the subjects of this lawful authority." Plainly enough; the article requires ordination, but does not decide who are the persons authorized to administer the rite. Now that is true of this particular article; because the question, as to who were authorized ordainers, was left to be settled in a subsequent article. But it is not true, as we shall presently shew, of the whole body of the articles. But even Burnet held that the article required some kind of ordination, and this passage proves that neither Burnet, nor in his judgment the Reformers, would have been at all willing to dispense with ordination, except under the pressure of necessity.

Burnet goes on; in the next paragraph he says: "that which we believe to be *lawful authority*, is that rule which the body of the pastors, or bishops and clergy of a Church shall settle, being met as a body under the due respect to the powers that GOD shall set over them; rules thus made, being in nothing contrary to the Word of GOD, and duly executed by the particular persons to whom that care belongs, are certainly the *lawful* authority."—*Apud Kenrick*, *p.* 308. Archbishop Kenrick, in referring to this sentence, has the boldness to say: "The lawful authority which is to call the ministry is, according to him, the body of the pastors assembled: and acting agreeably to the laws of the state, without at all insisting on the necessity of these pastors themselves to have had any thing like regular ordination."—*p.* 29. He has the still greater boldness, to call on the reader to judge, between him and Mr. Russell, whether he had misrepresented Burnet. Why, do not the very words, bishops and pastors, as Mr. Russell has well asked, imply ordination? Suppose I were to speak of the authority of Congress, would it be necessary that I should insert the words, provided the members be duly elected? Is not the election implied in speaking of them as a Congress. So, if I speak of the authority of the officers of the army, is it necessary that I should insist on their being duly commissioned? It is quite manifest that this is a shift to draw attention from the true question; whether Burnet taught any doctrine which would make men indifferent to ordination. Archbishop Kenrick, not being able to prove his assertion that he did, cunningly assumes it, and requires proof that he held the necessity of ordination, to be found in a passage in which there was no necessity to refer to the matter.

"That which we believe to be *lawful authority*, is that rule which the body of the pastors, or bishops and clergy of a Church shall settle, being met in a body under the due respect to the powers that GOD shall set over them; rules thus made, being in nothing contrary to the

Word of God, and duly executed by the particular persons to whom that care belongs, are certainly the *lawful authority*. Those are the pastors of the Church, to whom the care and watching over the souls of the people is committed, and the prince, or supreme power comprehends virtually the whole body of the people in him; since, according to the constitution of the civil government, the wills of the people are understood to be concluded by the supreme, and such as are the subject of the legislative authority. When a Church is in a state of persecution, under those who have the civil authority over her, then the *people* who receive the faith, and give both protection and encouragement to those that labour over them, are to be considered as the body that is governed by them. The natural effect of such a state of things, is to satisfy the people in all that is done to carry along their consent with it, and to consult much with them in it. This does not only arise out of a necessary regard to their present circumstances but from the rules given in the Gospel, of not ruling as the kings of the several nations did: not *lording* it, or carrying it with a high authority over God's *heritage*, (which may be also rendered over their several lots or portions.) But when the Church is under the protection of a Christian magistrate, then he comes to be in the stead of the whole people; for they are concluded in and by him: he gives the protection and encouragement, and therefore great regard is due to him, in the exercise of his lawful authority, in which he has a great share, as shall be explained in its proper place. Here then we think this authority is rightly lodged, and set on its proper basis.' —*Burnet, apud Kenrick, pp.* 308, 309.

That is to say, when the Church is under persecution, or not established, the laity have a right to share in the ecclesiastical government; a doctrine in which we heartily concur: but when the Church is established, then the prince or state succeeds to the rights of the laity; a doctrine which we as heartily abhor. Burnet next speaks of the case of the ordinations of the Church of Rome, which he regards as valid; although he seems to think them irregular; and then passes to the case of the whole body of the clergy being corrupted; in which case he thinks the secular magistrate, representing the laity, may make laws for the Church without their assent. But he expressly says, that, "we must confess that

such a method as this runs contrary to established rule; and that, therefore, it ought to be very seldom put in practice, and never, except when the greatness of the occasion will balance the irregularity that is in it. But still, here there is an authority both in *fact* and in *right*, for if the magistrate has power to make laws in sacred matters, he may order them to be prepared by whom, and as he pleases."—*Burnet, apud Kenrick, p.* 309. We ourselves dissent entirely from all this; but we introduce it, to carry along the thread of Burnet's argument. The reader sees that it relates to the law-making, not to the ordaining, power. Now, it may be true, that Burnet thought that this law-making power might regulate the ordaining power, and place it in the hands of whomsoever the magistrate would. But this will not help Archbishop Kenrick at all, for, by his own admission, the laws of England placed the power of consecration in consecrated bishops. Therefore, even if the Reformers had thought consecration depended on the civil laws, they would have sought it at the hands of consecrated bishops.

Burnet then proceeds to the case of "a company of Christians," who "find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they cannot, with a good conscience, join in it." Of their case he speaks thus:

"Finally, if a company of Christians find the public worship where they live to be so defiled that they cannot with a good conscience join in it; and if they do not know of any place to which they can conveniently go, where they may worship GOD purely and in a regular way; if, I say, such a body finding some that have been ordained, though to the lower functions, should submit itself entirely to their conduct; or finding none of those, should by a common consent desire some of their own number to minister to them in holy things, and should upon that beginning grow up to a regulated constitution, though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, and could not be done without a very great sin, unless the necessity were great and apparent; yet if the necessity is real and not feigned, this is not condemned or annulled by the article; for when this grows to a constitution, and when it was begun by the

consent of a body, who are supposed to have an authority in such an extraordinary case, whatever some hotter spirits may have thought of this since that time; yet we are very sure that not only those who penned the articles, but the body of this Church for above half an age after, did, notwithstanding those irregularities, acknowledge the foreign Churches so constituted, to be true Churches, as to all the essentials of a Church, though they had been at first irregularly formed, and continued still to be in an imperfect state. And therefore the general words in which this part of the article is framed, seem to have been designed on purpose not to exclude them."—*Burnet, apud Kenrick, pp.* 309, 310.

Now we see that in this passage Burnet implies, that if bishops are to be had, they are to be the rulers, if there are none, then those "that have been ordained, though to the lower functions," and it is only when finding "none of these," that they may, by common consent, "desire some of their own number to minister to them in holy things." If this irregular body should "grow up to a regulated constitution," he goes on to say, that "though we are very sure that this is quite out of all rule, *and could not be done without a very great sin*, unless the necessity were great and apparent; yet if the necessity were real and not feigned; this is not condemned or annulled by the article." Yet this writer, who holds, that willingly to set up a constitution without bishops, is a very great sin, is adduced to shew, that the Reformers held, that Episcopal ordination, was of so little consequence, that they not only would not seek for it, but would not accept it, when required so to do, by the will of the magistrate, as a condition of obtaining preferment, and by the law of the land, as a condition of holding it. And the course of argument is this; Burnet held such opinions, therefore the reformers did. As to the fact that the Church of England did not condemn the continental Churches, upon which so much stress is laid, by Burnet, for political reasons, and by Archbishop Kenrick, from polemical necessity, it is so far true, that the Church of England pronounced no judgment upon those who were not her subjects or members;

But she never recognized their ordinations as valid, or permitted their clergy to officiate within her bounds.

In reference to this paragraph, our author ventures on a bold step. Having stated Burnet's doctrine, about the power of a company of Christians to appoint ministers from among themselves, without stating the circumstances under which only he held such a transaction to be lawful, he goes on to animadvert upon the notion, which he falsely ascribes to Burnet, that lawful authority resides in the body of bishops and pastors, without insisting on their having been ordained, a matter which we have sufficiently disposed of elsewhere. He then proceeds as follows:

"Thus, he says, 'The article does not resolve this (lawful authority) into any particular constitution, but leaves the matter open and at large for such accidents as had happened, and such as might still happen. They who drew it, had the state of the different reformed Churches before their eyes, that had been differently reformed, and although their own had been less forced to go out of the beaten path than any other, yet they knew that all things among themselves had not gone according to those rules that ought to be sacred in regular times. Necessity has no law, and is a law to itself." That such was the doctrine of the Church of England for a long period subsequent to its birth, he thus expressly states, while making a supposition which had already been verified in England: 'If it should happen that princes or States should take up such a jealousy of their own authority, and should apprehend that the suffering of their subjects to go elsewhere for regular ordination, might bring them under some dependence on those that had ordained them: and if, upon other political reasons, they had just cause of being jealous of that, and should thereupon hinder any such thing, in that case, neither our reformers nor their successors, for near eighty years after those articles were published, did ever question the constitution of such Churches.'"—*Kenrick, pp.* 29, 30.

We desire to observe upon the insidious manner, in which he insinuates, in a kind of parenthesis, an assertion just so much like truth, as to deceive the unwary. The case, which Burnet had in his eye, had never occurred in Eng-

land; although something like it had. But the difference between the two cases, nevertheless, is very material. The case which Burnet supposes, is that of a state, which, on account of its small size, or for some other reason, had no bishops. If, in such a case, the government should refuse permission, to those ordained by foreign bishops, to officiate within its dominions, there would be, in Burnet's opinion, a necessity for getting up a new ordaining power. This opinion we do not hold, but think that the supposed case is one of persecution, in which Christians should obey God rather than men, and seek an episcopally ordained ministry at any cost. But still, that is Burnet's opinion, and it is grounded on the notion, that the necessity of the case supersedes the law of the Church, and on nothing else. The point, in which the case of England differs from the case supposed by Burnet, is precisely this; that the English government had done no act which interfered with the facility of obtaining ordination. There were abundance of bishops in England, when Henry VIII. prohibited his subjects from seeking, at Rome, not consecration, but confirmation. Very few English bishops were, in that age, consecrated out of England; and not more priests, in proportion, were so ordained. The English bishops themselves consecrated their newly appointed colleagues; their error consisted in this, that they would not consecrate them without leave from the Pope.

When this was prohibited, they went on without it.—Bishops continued to be consecrated, and priests ordained, without any difficulty, from the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII. until the death of Edward VI. The difficulty, which is alleged to have existed in Elizabeth's time, arose, if it really existed, not from the act of the government, but from the conspiracy of Mary's usurping bishops, to produce that difficulty. If there had not been any bishops in England, who would disobey the commands of the Pope, and consecrate to the vacant sees, a case, something like that supposed by

Burnet, would have arisen. Still it would not have been precisely the same; for it is a well known fact, that in Ireland, under the same sovereign, there were fifteen or sixteen bishops, who had no scruple, who did carry on the succession in Ireland, and would, if required, have carried it on in England. To infer, then, from Burnet's opinion, that in the case supposed by him ordination might be dispensed with; that he held it unnecessary in England, where the necessity, which was the ground of his opinion, did not exist, is, to say the least, very hasty reasoning. But it is alleged, that there were in England four bishops who were willing to carry on the succession, and did actually carry it on. Of the existence of these men, there is no dispute. It is open to our author to deny that they were bishops; and we must then prove that fact as we best may. But his argument is, that it is improbable that these men would have been invited to consecrate Parker, because the governors of the English Church, at that time, held Burnet's opinion, that ordination may be dispensed with in case of necessity; that is to say, when it is not to be had. This is reasoning in a circle. When it is shewn, that the four alleged consecrators of Parker were not considered by their contemporaries to be bishops, then the case supposed by Burnet, or rather one something like it, will be shewn to have occurred in England.—Until then, to assert that the case, supposed by Burnet, has occurred in England, is, to use courteous language, a great error.

Archbishop Kenrick gives, in fact, two considerable extracts from Burnet's Commentary on the twenty-third article. They are of very unequal lengths, and the first is much the longest. Having completed this extract, our author goes on to give the connecting portion between it and the second and shorter extract, not in Burnet's words, but in his own. Knowing the carelessness of the Archbishop, and that omissions were occasionally made for very good reasons, we looked into Burnet, and examined not only

the omitted portion, but the earlier portion of the Commentary, before the commencement of the first extract. We found in fact, that the whole "of the exposition of the 23d article" "has reference to the subject," as indeed it must, if it be an exposition of that article at all. We came to the conclusion that our author was in a great error, when he asserted that "it is only necessary to read the whole of Burnet's exposition of the twenty-third article, to be convinced how little importance was attached, even in his days, to the regular transmission of ministerial powers." We have read it through, and have been convinced that very great importance was attached, even in his day, and by himself, a very low Churchman, to the regular transmission of ministerial powers. We observed, though, how easy it is to misrepresent the scope of an argument, by tearing a few fragments from it, and presenting them to those who have not access to the whole.

We have now examined the cases of all the individuals, whom the Archbishop has produced as authorities, or whatever else they ought to be called, to prove the truth of his notion about the sentiments of the Reformers. It is true, his pages are thickly spangled with references to the work of a Mr. Lewis, and chequered with extracts from the same. But this Mr. Lewis is a Romanist, who published, in the year 1847, the book cited, for a partizan purpose. From what authority he draws his facts and his opinions, we know not; perhaps from the Archbishop's first edition. At any rate, his opinions are worth just as much, and no more, than those of our author; supposing that they are equal in learning, industry and candor. We would not do the Archbishop the discourtesy of preferring a layman, or even a simple priest, to him in any of these particulars. We, therefore, set down both as of equal authority; that is, they are to be regarded, just so far as they state facts, sustained by quotations from good authorities, which have been carefully verified, by persons entitled to confidence, and promulgate

opinions which can be deduced by sound logical deduction from such facts. But as we do not know whence Mr. Lewis derived his facts, and as he is really only cited for summary opinions, we shall take leave to suppose, that he has only been introduced for the purpose of giving an appearance of authority, which might operate on the minds of the ignorant members of the Romish Communion.

We come now to the proof "of the light in which the necessity of episcopal ordination, for the purpose of transmitting the powers of the ministry, was held by the bishops of Elizabeth's reign," which Archbishop Kenrick finds in a mistranslation of Acts xiv. 23, in the translation of the Bible, called the Bishop's Bible. The verse is thus translated, "And when they had *ordained elders by election*." The Archbishop truly states that the Greek word rendered "ordained by election," had been "constantly understood by the Church to express the imposition of hands, by which the ministerial powers were conferred." But he does not shew, that it was not so understood by those who introduced the idea of election. Yet he says: "This translation was not only an unauthorized innovation, an attempt to give the passage a sense it never had in the Church; but in the circumstances in which it was made, shews the earnest desire of the translators to make the Bible back the principles of Luther, referred to in the beginning of this chapter."—*Kenrick, p.* 34. In his first edition, this was stated even more offensively; but let that pass, the offensive language which is omitted we will regard as retracted.

Every reader sees that the point of the argument of our author, lies in the intention of the publishers of the Bishop's Bible; they designed to accommodate the Scriptures to the erroneous principles of Luther. Nothing is then done until this intention is proved. This our author does not attempt, but leaves it to be inferred from the simple fact, that the mistranslation was made, that it was made with the precise intention that suits his purpose. Yet he lets

out, incidentally, a fact, which militates against his view; that is, that the mistranslation was not then first made, but had previously occurred in Tyndal's and Cranmer's, and he might, no doubt, have added the Geneva, Bibles. They may then have only followed the weight of authority among English translators, without having reference to any particular doctrine. That they did not intend to accommodate the Bible to Luther's erroneous views, is, however, clear enough; for the mistranslation does not produce the effect.

In our former work, we said, speaking of this mistranslation; "It could not have been made through dislike to ordination, for any person who will refer to his Bible, will find that the word 'they' refers to Paul and Barnabas, and the passage as mistranslated, will mean that the Apostles ordained those who were elected to the office of elders, not that the people elected elders who did not require ordination."—*Evans' Essays, p.* 25. The Archbishop takes no notice of this remark, but, with considerable tact, goes on to a discussion, connected with something in Mr. Russell's pamphlet, about the number and dates of the editions in which the mistranslation occurs, and about the use made by classical authors of the Greek word in the text. These are really trivial matters; but it is worth while to remark, that the Archbishop misrepresents Mr. Russell, when he asserts, that he "is mistaken in supposing that any classical author uses" the "word to express the idea, ordain by election." It would be very strange if any one had; for the heathen classics never treated of ordination. But Mr. Russell had asserted no such absurdity, he had said that the word "has the two-fold meaning of *laying on hands* and electing *by hands.*"—*Russell, p.* 17. He says further, in a footnote, that the word is used in the second sense in the Hellenics of Xenophon.

But the question after all is; did the translators of the Bishop's Bible, mean to substitute the idea of popular elec-

tion for that of Apostolical ordination? This depends upon what words are the antecedents to the pronoun "they." If any word signifying the people occupies that place, then the Archbishop is right; but if the antecedents be Paul and Barnabas, then he is as clearly wrong. But it so happens that there is no mention of the people at all, and that a look at the context will shew conclusively, that the word "they" refers to Paul and Barnabas. We shall now see how the matter stands in the Rhemish translation. In the beginning of the Chapter, we find Paul and Barnabas, whose actions the sacred historian is relating, at Iconium; persecution arising there, they fled to Lystra and Derbe; at Lystra Paul worked a miracle, which led the people to regard him and his companion as gods, so that they were with difficulty prevented from sacrificing to them. The inspired writer goes on from this point, in the 18th verse, we copy from the Rhemish translation: "Now there came certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, and having persuaded the multitude, and having stoned Paul, they dragged him out of the city thinking him to be dead. But as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and entered into the city, and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe. And when they had preached the Gospel to that city and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra and to Iconium and to Antioch; confirming the souls of the disciples and exhorting them to continue in the faith; for that through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained for them priests in every church, and they had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord in whom they had believed. And passing through Pisidia, they went down to Attalia; and thence they sailed to Antioch from whence they had been delivered to the grace of God, unto the work which they accomplished." Now we suppose, that Archbishop Kenrick will hardly deny that the word "they," where it first occurs in this passage, means

Paul and Barnabas, and that where it follows denoting those who "returned again to Lystra," who, "commended them," the people, "to the LORD," who "came into Pamphylia," who "went down to Attalia," and who "sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been delivered to the grace of GOD, unto the work which they had accomplished," it still imports the same persons. If so in 23d. verse they are also signified by the same word; and Paul and Barnabas were the persons who "ordained for them priests in every Church."°

° Through the kindness of a friend we have obtained a copy of the passage which we have in the text taken from the Rhemish translation, as it appears in the edition of the Bishop's Bible of 1583. It is as well to observe that the numbers of the verses in this extract are one higher than in the Rhemish Testament, because the sixth verse in that is divided in the Protestant versions into the sixth and seventh. The note to the 23d verse seems to give a somewhat different interpretation to the mistranslation than that of Archbishop Kenrick.

"*Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie.*

1583.

"THE ACTES.—Chap. xiv. 19–28.

"19. Then there came certaine Jewes from Antiochia and Iconium, when they had perswaded the people, *stoned Paul, and drew him out of the citie, supposing he had been dead.

"20. Howbeit, as the disciples stoode round about him, he arose up, and came into the citie, and next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.

"21. And after they had preached to that citie, and had taught many they returned to Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antiochia.

"22. Confirming the disciples heartes, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, [affirming] that we must through many afflictions enter into the kingdome of GOD.

* And disputting boldely perswaded the people to forsake them: for, said they, they say nothing true but lye in all things. 2 Cor. ii. 25.

Now, the mistranslation, of which our author complains, is not that there has been any tampering with the pronouns, but that the translation of the Bishop's Bible rendered the word, which the Rhemish translators, and those of King James, rendered "ordained," "ordained by election." But what matters it, whether they were ordained by election or not, so they were ordained by Paul and Barnabas? How does it interfere with the episcopal doctrine of ordination? How does it show "the earnest desire of the translators to make the Bible echo the principles of Luther," which our author had referred to in the beginning of his chapter.

Those principles were "that we are all equally priests; that is, that we have the same power in the Word, and in every Sacrament; but that it is not lawful for each one to use that power, unless elected by the community or called by the ruler."—*Kenrick*, *p.* 20. But the mistranslation represents the persons ordained elders, or priests, to have been elected by Barnabas and Paul, who were neither the community, nor the civil rulers. That they were the eccle-

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"23. And when they had ordeined them Elders by *election in every Church, and prayed and fasted, they commended them to the LORDE in whome they beleeved.

"24. Thus they went throughout Pisidiá, and came to Pamphylia.

"25. And when they had preached the worde in Perga, they came downe to Attalia,

"26. And thence sayled to Antiochia, †from whence they had bene commended unto the grace of GOD, to the worke which they had fulfilled.

"27. And when they were come, and had gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all the thinges that GOD had done‡ by them, and how he had opened the doore of faith unto the Gentiles.

"28. So there they abode a long time with the disciples.

*The worde signifieth to elect by putting up the hands, which declareth that ministers were not made without the consent of the people.

†Chap. 13. 1, 4. ‡By their ministerie.

siastical rulers we agree; but, according to the mistranslation, they ordained them, although they elected them also. It therefore affords no countenance to the erroneous principles of Luther. We wonder at our author, who appears from other passages, to regard every variation from the Rhemish translation as a mistranslation, did not fall upon the word "elders," as varying from the word "priests." On a former occasion, he was not prevented from so doing, in the case of other parts of the sacred text, by the fact, which exists in this case also, that the word which in the Rhemish translation is "priests," is in the Vulgate, from which that translation was made, *presbyters*.

We have at last reached that portion of Archbishop Kenrick's argument, to prove that the Church of England does not hold, what all the rest of mankind know that she does hold, which is alone of any value; or rather, which would be of value if it were founded in truth. It is stated in the following language:

"These Presbyterian principles regarding the non-necessity of orders, regularly transmitted in an unbroken chain of succession, not only prevailed during the latter years of Henry VIII., and during the whole reign of Edward VI., but were adopted by the bishops of Elizabeth's time. These men had been engaged in most of the religious changes made in the reigns of the two before named monarchs; and the identity of belief on this point between the Convocations of 1548 and 1562 is shown by the adoption of the article above referred to, by both assemblies; as also by the addition made to the twenty-sixth of Edward's articles, which is the twenty-fifth of those of Elizabeth, or thirty-nine articles. This addition is the more remarkable, as in Edward's article, there was no express exclusion of any visible sign or ceremony in the conferring of orders; but, in the last mentioned article, it is declared that 'those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel; being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed by Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments of Baptism and the LORD's Supper, *for they have no visible sign or*

ceremony ordained of God.' The imposition of hands is certainly a visible sign; by it Timothy received the grace which St. Paul admonished him to stir up within him (2 Tim. i. 6.) The framers of this article must have had some very powerful motive to make them assign, in 1562, this ground as the motive for excluding orders from the number of the Sacraments. Mr. Evans refers to one of the Homilies of the Church of England, which according to the thirty-fifth article, contains 'a godly and wholesome doctrine,' for the reason why order is not called a Sacrament. According to the homily, it is not a Sacrament, because 'though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign, (laying on of hands,) and promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other Sacraments besides the two above named, (Eucharist and Baptism) do.' Now the article says, that order is not a Sacrament, because it has 'not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.'"—*Kenrick, pp.* 30, 31. See Evans, 30.

Our author here refers to two articles, the twenty-third and twenty-fifth. The latter of these has really nothing to do with the question. The Reformers, like the modern divines of our own and the English Church, might well hold ordination not to be a Sacrament, and yet value it very highly. But our author lays much stress upon the declaration of the article, that order has no visible sign or ceremony ordained of God. On this subject, we did use the argument he attributes to us, as will be found by reference to our former work, pages 29, 30, where it is stated at somewhat more length. Mr. Russell, although the Archbishop does not notice the fact, uses the same argument, in his pamphlet, and puts it with great force.

"Equally irrelevant is the circumstance next treated of by Dr. Kenrich, *i. e.* the addition made to the twenty-sixth of Edward's Articles, and the twenty-fifth of those framed in the reign of Elizabeth, which is, that "those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, *Orders,* Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Gospel. . . . . *for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of* God." Whatever else the words I have underlined may mean, they do not exclude, as Dr. Kenrick supposes, "any visible rite or ceremony in

the conferring of Orders," for if so understood, the Homily *of Common Prayer and Sacraments* (which is mentioned by name in the thirty-fifth article as containing a "godly and wholesome doctrine") expressly contradicts them. It observes, "For this visible sign, (I mean laying on of hands) is not expressly commanded in the New Testament to be used in Absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the LORD's Supper are, and though the *Ordering of Ministers* HATH THIS VISIBLE SIGN and promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin." Will Dr. Kenrick affirm, that Parker and the Convocation of 1562 put forward two opposite statements on the subject of Orders? If he will assert this, will any one believe him? and if he will not, then the addition made to the twenty-fifth article will avail him nothing."—*Russell*, *pp.* 14, 15.

Archbishop Kenrick's answer to this argument, which we have given above, reminds us of a school boy, who having got an advantage in an argument, by some expression of his companion, refuses to listen to any explanation. In a note he fortifies himself by a sneer and a paltry quotation, from a modern Romish novel, which might have some weight, with those who did not know that it is the work of [illegible] who, whatever he may have formerly been, has shewn by his "Essay on Development," and, as we understand, also by this novel, that he has not entered into the ranks of the Romish clergy, without adopting a large share of that unscrupulousness in controversy, for which those gentlemen have long been remarkable. Archbishop Kenrick sneers at "the impossible task of reconciling the formularies of the Anglican Church." He ought to know that the impossibility is not felt, by those who enter upon the task in an "honest and good heart." Those who, like himself, desire to shew that they are incongruous, make them so, by considering each by itself, without relation to the others, and, having thus fixed upon them some ultra meaning of their own, refuse to have that meaning modified so as to make them agree with each other. They forget that it is a most important rule of interpretation, that every writer, and *a fortiori*, every writer acting as the representative of a Church,

must be taken to be consistent with himself. Private judgment men, make the Bible inconsistent with itself, by exactly the same process. Thus some of them reject the whole, and become infidels; others choose what they will believe, and explain away what contradicts their own fancies.

With respect to the twenty-third article, we have already shewn that even upon the low-church view which has been taken of it by Burnet[p] it will not bear out our author in his

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[p] Mr. Russell has furnished us with an exposition of this article by a modern divine, which we shall give to our readers as a specimen of the expositions of men, who are not seeking to make contradictions, in order that they may turn them to their own account.

"If the articles are to be taken in their literal and grammatical sense, surely the twenty-third article affirms the principle of the succession, however confidently men quote it on the contrary side. The way to judge of this is to see how it would work in *practice;* for the articles are altogether of a practical cast, adapted to the actual guidance of this Church and her Ministers, under controversies and cases really existing. Thus the article in question supposes a person claiming to be a Christian Minister, and supplies a simple test whereby to determine whether such his claim be valid. It directs that these questions be asked, '*Who called you* to the office you assume?' 'Was it one who had public authority given him to do so?' Now apply this to the first person professing to be ordained by Luther, or Calvin, or Wesley. Would he not, if he spoke truth, be obliged to answer the second question in the negative? Must we not, by the letter of the article, deny his commission? Suppose him nevertheless to go on, and pretend not only to preach, baptize, and consecrate, but also to ordain others, still pleading the same warrant, a commission to do so from Luther, or Calvin, or Wesley. Would not the same process have to be repeated, and with the same result, in the case of each person claiming to be ordained by him? unless we will say that though Luther and Calvin could not himself lawfully ordain, he might empower others to do so, which no one probably would ever think of maintaining. The article therefore virtually enforces succession as the test of a lawful ministry. Were it strictly observed, no person, having only Lutheran, Calvinist,

argument, but the authors of the articles are expounders of higher authority than Burnet. We endeavoured in our former work to avail ourselves of their aid. Upon this occasion, as Archbishop Kenrick complains, we charged him with having given a garbled statement of the articles. With the utmost gravity he replies: "And yet I gave the whole of the twenty-third article, and the whole of the addition to the twenty-fifth article, that is all that I professed to give." —*page* 30, *note*. But the very offence of garbling consists in concealing altogether from the reader's knowledge some passage, to which, of course, no allusion is made. We did not charge our author with garbling the 23d and 25th Articles, but with giving a garbled statement of the articles; and the specification of our charge, was, that he had suppressed the thirty-sixth article, which sanctions the ordinal, including the preface; which thus became the authoritative exposition

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or Wesleyan Orders, could ever be allowed to preach or minister Sacraments in the congregation. * * * * But there is another place, where the English Church defines who shall be taken for a lawful minister, viz. The Preface to the Ordination Service, and that in the following words: 'No man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in the United Church of England and Ireland, ... except he be called thereunto according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly EPISCOPAL consecration or ordination?' Is it to be supposed that the Church, in different parts of her formularies, intended to give different accounts of the test of a lawful ministry? If not, then we have reason to believe that the Bishops, and the Bishops only, were in her mind, when she spoke in her twenty-third article of a lawful calling being that which proceeds from men who have public authority given unto them in [not *by*] the congregation, to call and send ministers into the LORD's vineyard? The rather as the thirty-sixth article expressly adopts and approves the Ordination Services, affirming, on the one hand, against the Papists, that they 'contain all things necessary to consecration and ordering;' on the other hand, against the Puritans, that 'neither have they any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly.'—Keble's Postscript to his 'Visitation Sermon,' pp. 33, 36."—*Apud Russell*, *p.* 11.

of the twenty-third article. Since, the whole, being, as the lawyers say, *in pari materia*, must be construed together. A rule which is applied in our profession to statutes on the same subject, passed at long intervals; how much more to articles enacted *uno flatu*, with one breath, signed literally with one stroke of the pen. The suppression then of the thirty-sixth article rendered the statement of the articles a garbled one. It is observable too, that even now, when our author's attention has been called to the fact, he gives an imperfect extract from the thirty-sixth article itself, instead of the whole, and he omits all mention of the Preface to the ordinal, on which the weight of our argument rested. He is still careful not to mention, that the thirty-sixth article declares that the ordinal has not "any thing which of itself is superstitious and ungodly," and that the Preface to the ordinal, declares that "it is evident to all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' times, there have been these three orders of ministers in CHRIST'S Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons: which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man by his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried, examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer with imposition of hands, approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore, to the intent, these orders should be continued and reverently used in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man, (not being at this present Bishop, Priest or Deacon,) shall execute any of them except he be called, tried and examined, and admitted according to the form following." Nor is this all, the following collect makes a part of the office for consecrating bishops in Edward's Ordinal. It distinctly recognizes divers orders of ministers as of Divine appointment, and the order of Bishops as one of these orders.

"Almighty God giver of all good things, Which by Thy Holy Spirit, hast appointed divers orders of ministers in Thy Church: Mercifully behold this thy servant, now called to the work and ministry of a Bishop, and so replenish him with the truth of Thy doctrine and innocency of life, that both by word and deed, he may faithfully serve Thee in this office, to the glory of Thy name and the profit of Thy congregation: through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, world without end. *Amen.* '*The Form of Consecrating an Archbishop or Bishop.*'"—*Apud Cardwell, p.* 417.[q]

NOTE UPON THE IRISH EPISCOPATE.

The succession of the bishops in the Church in Ireland, is a subject worthy of more attention than it has received. We have never met with any book, in which the subject was examined in a manner at all satisfactory; although it is right to say, that we have never seen Bishop Mant's "History of the Irish Church." The subject is important in itself, and to be treated with reference to the important and indisputable fact, that the present bishops of the Anglican

[q] But there exist still other evidences of the real opinions of Parker and his fellow bishops upon this important subject. In Wilkin's *Concilia Magnæ Brittaniæ*, Vol. IV. page 257, appear, under the date of 1569, "Articles to be enquired of within the diocese of Canterbury in the ordinary visitation of the most Reverend Father in God, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c." Among the things to be enquired of, we find in the seventh article: "Whether there be any persons that intrude themselves, and presume to exercise any kind of ministry in the Church of God without imposition of hands and ordinary authority."

In the same book, *page* 263, *et. seq.* are the famous canons of 1571. The first of these is entitled, "*De Episcopis*," and in it we find the following clause, "*Episcopus neminem qui se otioso nomine lectorem vocet et manus impositionem non acceperit in* ecclesiæ ministerio

Communion in Ireland, are the genuine successors of those ancient bishops; who, before the English invasion, upheld the cause of true Catholicity in Ireland, against the Bishops of Rome, and that, not only in doctrine, but as receiving both orders and mission through them, by an unbroken chain of consecrations. The Romish titulars, on the contrary, are mere usurpers, without any mission, and deriv-

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versari patietur." "The bishop shall suffer no man, who calls himself, by an idle name, a reader, and has not received imposition of hands to serve in the ministry of the Church."

The canons of 1571, were subscribed by Parker, Grindal through his proxy, Sandys, Horne, Scory, Cox, Jewell and others. But those whom we have named were all among the first bishops of Elizabeth's reign, and were among the most active men in settling the affairs of the Church.

Again, there was, as our author himself mentions, a conference held at Westminster in 1559, between certain Romanists and certain Protestants. The latter were Scory, Whitehead, Jewell, Elmer, Cox, Grindal, Horne, Gest, of these all but Elmer and Whitehead were among Elizabeth's earliest bishops. Most or all of them are mentioned in one or other of the versions of the Nag's-Head fable. Among the questions to be discussed, was the authority of particular Churches "to institute, change and abrogate ceremonies and rites in the Church." On this theme, the Protestants prepared a discourse in which we find the following passage:

"The Apostles' successors, had the same authority that the Apostles had. For that the adversaries grant; else under what colour drive they men to obey the pope and his decrees? But all bishops be the Apostles' successors and have like power, as appeareth by St. Hierome, which saith, "Omnes episcopus, apostolorum successores esse; and by Cyprian, who affirmeth that each one hath the like authority: "Hoc utique inquit erant cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis: Therefore all bishops have the same authority, which is to dispose things to edification."—*Cardwell's History of Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of The Book of Common Prayer from the year* 1558 *to the year* 1690, *Oxford* 1841, *p.* 79.

ing their orders through Spanish and Italian prelates; who gave them no mission, and could give them none. The question of the Irish succession, as it directly bears upon our proper subject, lies in a narrow compass, but is not without some importance. Its bearing upon our controversy is two-fold. First; upon the question of probabilities which we have been just discussing; for if, as we shall shew to have been the fact, Elizabeth had [illegible] Irish bishops at her command, the difficulty of procuring consecrators for Parker must be entirely imaginary, and the actual consecrators were not selected from necessity, but by preference. This fact overthrows a vast amount of Romish argument upon the subject. Again; the story of a certain fabulous Irish Archbishop, who refused to lay hands on Parker has been coupled with the tale of the Nag's-Head ordination, in such a manner that the demonstration of its falsehood, cannot fail to destroy that fabrication; if indeed any one can be found weak enough to give any credit to so absurd a tale. This fable of the Irish Archbishop can only meet its proper refutation, by a reference to the history of the Irish Church. This place then, between the Essay on Probabilities, and that on the Nag's-Head fable, seems to be the proper place for introducing some discussion on the Irish Episcopate. Our objects will be to shew, first, that the story of the Irish Archbishop in the tower, is entirely destitute of foundation, and then, that there were an abundance of Irish bishops ready to consecrate Parker, had the Queen thought proper to employ them in that office.[a]

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[a] The fact that the Irish bishops retained their sees, and transmitted to their successors, a power of order, indisputable, upon any other ground than the pretended defects in the Anglican Ordinal, has also another, most important bearing. We have shewn that the modern English bishops can trace to the Irish succession in several channels. (*See our former "Essays," Note B, p.* 197 *et seq.*) These facts combined with the Romish principle, which we shall establish in a

We shall do this mainly, by the authority of Ware; an author of whom Archbishop Kenrick has seen fit to speak with something like commendation. Sir James Ware was an Irish Protestant, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century, and devoted much time and industry to inquiries into the history of his own country. The result of his labours lies on our table in the shape of a tolerably thick folio volume, which was published at Dublin in 1705. It is a translation from the Latin, in which language Ware wrote. The general title of the volume is, "The Antiquities and History of Ireland." The whole title page is too long to transcribe, and the volume consists of several distinct works, most of which are by the elder Ware, some by his son, and one by Sir John Davis. The two works upon which we shall rely, are both by the elder Ware. One of them is entitled, "The Annals of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth." The other "A Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland," &c. It is a peculiarity of this volume, that although it is an entire volume, and has a general title page, each of the independent works of which it consists, has its own paging. So far is this carried, that in the commentary, there are four series of pages; one for each of the four Provinces of Ireland. In fact, the book was not all printed at once; for the commentary has its own title page, the imprint of which is 1704, while that of the general title page is 1705. These facts render the usual mode of quoting nugatory; and we shall consequently quote the Annals, by the year and chapter, divisions which coincide and are sufficiently short. The facts stated on the authority of the commentary, may be verified by

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future Essay, that every bishop assisting at a consecration is as much a consecrator as the presiding bishop, and with the fact, that there is no objection to the Anglican Ordinal, which is not equally forcible against the Roman, ought to close the mouths of the Romanists, against English Ordinations and render the whole controversy unnecessary.

reference to the date in the parts of the work severally devoted to the sees respectively spoken of. These modes of reference have the advantage, moreover, of being equally adapted to all editions of Ware.

We are first to take up the story of an imaginary Irish Archbishop, who, being in confinement, was requested to consecrate Parker, and refused to perform that office. This tale, or rather the germ of it, for it was afterwards somewhat developed, was invented by Sanders, and first published about thirty years after Parker's consecration. Sanders well knew that there was no such archbishop. He was therefore too prudent to give names or circumstances. He only says.

"Instabant vehementer apud quendam Archiepiscopum Hibernum, (quem tùm Londini in vinculis habebant,) vt in hac illis necessitate succurreret, & libertate ei & premijs propositis, si vellet istorum ordinationi præesse; sed vir bonus nullo modo adduci potuit, vt hæreticis sacras manus imponeret, vel alieno peccato communicaret."—SANDERS, *De Schism. Anglic. p.* 400, *Edit. Romæ*, 1586. See also *Haddan's Bramhall, Vol. III. p.* 230, *note, where it is quoted from the edition of* 1585, *pp.* 165–167.

"Some of them, were very urgent with a certain Irish Archbishop (whom they then had in chains in London,) that he would help them in this necessity, and liberty and rewards were set before him, if he would preside at their ordination; but the good man could by no means be induced, to impose his holy hands upon heretics, or to be partaker in other men's sins."

About thirty years later, Fitzsimon took it into his head, that this story would mix admirably with the Nag's-Head fiction, which had then been not long invented, and to which he and his compeers were labouring to give currency. He thought too, that the tale would tell better if the archbishop had a name, not reflecting that Sanders had omitted to give him one, because, the whole story being an invention, it was safest to give no clue for inquiry. Fitzsimon, how-

ever, set out in quest of a name. Not being very well informed in the history of the times, and finding that Richard Creagh, a titular Archbishop of Armagh, had been twice imprisoned in Elizabeth's reign, the first time within a few years after her accession, he fancied that he was an Archbishop who had sat in Mary's days and been deprived and imprisoned by Elizabeth. He did not, however, venture to assert the fact; but only gave it as his own conjecture. We have never seen his book; but a gentleman in Europe has kindly sent us an extract from it.—*Britannomachia, lib. iii. c. 5, p.* 320, *Ed. Douay*, 4*to.* 1516. Our correspondent says, "Fitzsimon certainly does mention Creagh, or rather guess at him,—thus, after relating the tale, about *archiepiscopus quidam Ibernus*, from Sanders. Non habeo compertum *(citra probabilitate conjecturæ) an hic idem fuerit ter illustris martyr Creaeus" (sic) "Armachanus Primas, qui ex turri Londinensi mirabiliter evasit,"* &c. i. e. "I have not found, (nearer than by the probability of conjecture,) whether this was the same with the thrice illustrious martyr Creagh, Primate of Armagh, who wonderfully escaped out of the Tower of London," &c. Our friend goes on "(proceeding to relate how he was again imprisoned and then *poisoned* in 1587.) *Ibernus, quicunque demum fuit Archiepiscopus, propositam sibi sacrilegam provinciam, cum laude eterna detrectavit,*" i. e. "Finally, whoever this Irish Archbishop was, he refused the sacrilegious office proposed to him, to his eternal praise."

After another interval of forty years, Talbot, more bold than Fitzsimon, ventured to state absolutely, that Creagh was the Archbishop; the certainty thus becoming greater as the time of the transaction receded into antiquity. Archbishop Kenrick incautiously followed Talbot, in his first edition; but it having been shewn that Creagh was not consecrated until 1663, nor imprisoned until 1664, he changes his ground somewhat in the second. He makes one of his

half admissions, for he appears always to carry with him the conviction that his cause cannot bear to lose any thing, and therefore he must make no decided admissions. He says, "Mr. Evans replies, that Creagh was not bishop in 1559. Probably not; but as the matter is not necessarily connected with the present subject, a further discussion of it may be avoided."—*page* 228. He then goes on to state Sanders' tale, and says: "Whether the person referred to was Creagh or not, is immaterial, as far as the present investigation is concerned." This is very well, if the story of Sanders were true; but although he professes to give Sanders' statement, at third hand from us, who had quoted it second hand from Mr. Haddan, he omits to observe on the following sentences in the same Essay. "Nor was there any Irish Archbishop who adhered to Rome. The three Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, all conformed to the Reformation, and retained their sees. Curwin, of Dublin, until 1567, when, at his own request, he was translated to Oxford,—the others, until their deaths."—*Essays on Ang. Ord. page* 35. It is certainly a matter of indifference, whether the Archbishop's name was Creagh or not, provided there was such an Archbishop; but when the existence of such a person is denied, it is of some consequence to shew that he who first told the tale gave no name, that his followers first guessed at an impossible name, and then fixed absolutely on the same name, thus shewing that Sanders' omission had not been supplied by any authentic tradition of the name. But it is of still more consequence, to shew that there was no person in existence who answered to the description given by Sanders; that there was no Irish Archbishop in chains. This we asserted in our former Essays, upon grounds satisfactory to our own minds: although we could not, at the moment, produce the proof, which must be satisfactory to others, as we now can. The Archbishop has preferred ignoring our assertion to contradicting it; but we shall nevertheless proceed to prove its truth.

It is well known that there have never been, more than four Archbishoprics in Ireland—those of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam.—We shall now proceed to give, from Ware, so much of the history of these sees, as can have any bearing on the question before us.

1. Armagh. George Dowdall was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh in 1543, "by Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, and other bishops, about the beginning of December."—Ware mentions the death of all his predecessors for more than a hundred years, except one who resigned in 1479, eighty years before Parker's consecration; so none of them could have been the imprisoned Archbishop. Dowdall presents the singular case of a man, who having held a see for many years, in defiance of the Pope's authority, afterwards lost it for supporting the same authority. Before the time of his consecration, Henry VIII. had renounced the Pope, and Dowdall was consecrated without the assent of the Bishop of Rome. Pope Paul IV. therefore conferred his see upon one Robert Waucop, who was the Archbishop of Armagh who sat in the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1547. He died in 1551, in the reign of Edward VI. Very shortly after this event Dowdall withdrew himself out of Ireland, and on the second of February, 1552–3, Hugh Goodacre was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. He died on the first day of May, 1553, a few months before Edward VI. On the accession of Mary, Dowdall was restored to his see and died in possession, in London, on the fifteenth of August, 1558, a few months before Queen Mary. The see continued vacant until about the end of March, 1562, when Adam Loftus was consecrated for it. Thus far Ware. It is true, that in 1560, Donat O'Teague, a titular Archbishop of Armagh, was consecrated at Rome, but that was after Parker's consecration; and the consecration of Creagh, who was O'Teague's successor, was in 1563, so that there was no

Archbishop of Armagh, or person claiming that title, during the whole year 1559.

2. Dublin. In the case of this see, as in that of Armagh, all the preceding prelates were dead, when George Brown was consecrated to fill it, on the nineteenth of March, 1535. He sat until the year 1554, when he was deprived for being married. He was the leader of the Protestant party in Ireland; and although the precise time of his death is not ascertained, it may fairly be presumed to have been before 1559, since he was neither restored to his own see, nor provided for in any other. Had he been alive, his position and merits required that he should have been Archbishop either of Canterbury or Armagh. The younger Ware says, in his life of him, that he died soon after his deprivation. At all events he was not a man to be in chains for the Romish religion, or to refuse to consecrate Parker. Upon his deprivation, Hugh Curwin was consecrated to fill his place, on the eighth of September, 1555. He appears to have had the art of pleasing both Mary and Elizabeth, having been Lord Chancellor of Ireland, under the first, and one of the Lord's Justices under the last. In 1567, he was, at his own request, translated to Oxford, in which see he died, in 1568. He was not, therefore, a confessor for the Romish religion; and that he would have had no hesitation about consecrating Parker in 1559, may well be inferred, from the fact, that in August, 1560, he actually consecrated Alexander Craik, Bishop of Kildare, in the room of Thomas Leverous, or Leverons, deprived by Queen Elizabeth. This fact Ware states, both in his account of the bishops of Kildare, and in his Annals of Elizabeth, ch. 3, 1560.

3. Cashel. In this see Roland Baron, or Fitzgerald, was the undisputed bishop; he was consecrated in December, 1553, in the very beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and died in possession, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1561. "After which," says Ware, "the see was vacant six years."

4. Tuam. The Archbishop of this see was Christopher Bodkin, who seems to have possessed a most accommodating conscience, since he complied with all the changes of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. He "was consecrated," says Ware, "Bishop of Killmacduach at Marseilles, in France, the 4th of November, 1534; and residing there but a very short time, by favor of King Henry VIII., he was translated to Tuam, in February, 1536, holding the see of Killmacduach by dispensation. At last, in 1572, he died at Tuam, full of days, having sat 36 years."

Having thus disposed of the question of Sanders' imaginary Archbishop, we come to the general question of the Irish Episcopate. We had asserted, on the authority of Mr. Palmer, that all the Irish bishops, with the exception of two, and those intruders, conformed to the Reformation, and would have been willing to consecrate Parker. Archbishop Kenrick does not directly deny the truth of these statements; but gives to them two answers, which his readers are to understand as implying denials. The first: "That the act acknowledging the Queen's supremacy, was not passed in the Irish Parliament until the following January, (1559–1560,) a month after the time assigned for the commission to consecrate Parker."—*p.* 228. This is true enough, but nothing to the purpose. Queen Elizabeth, it is agreed, was anxious that Parker should be consecrated. She would not have been driven to give up all hope of such consecration, as the Romanists contend that she was, until she had applied to the Irish prelates. That they would have refused, she could not know, until they had refused the oath of supremacy, which they never did. She probably knew with absolute certainty, that some of them would not refuse the oath. She could have had no reason to infer that all would refuse it, until it was tendered; because, in fact, a large majority took it. Those who took it in January, 1560, would not have refused to obey the Queen a month earlier. She

had, therefore, as the event has shewn, no reason to despair of Parker's consecration, at the time at which she is supposed by the Romanists, to have done so; and by waiting a little while, had it been necessary, her object would have been attained. Now, suppose she had put Parker in possession without consecration, as our adversaries [illegible], not only without, but against, evidence; what was to prevent him from being consecrated in 1560, by Irish bishops?—Nothing, except that he was consecrated in 1559, by English bishops.

Our author's second reply is, that a Mr. MacGeohegan gives a statement, which is very different from that on which we have relied. This statement is as follows: "Queen Elizabeth was particularly desirous of having the Protestant religion established in Ireland. She sent orders to Sussex (1560) to call a meeting of the clergy for that purpose; but the firmness of the bishops, and their attachment to the ancient religion, rendered the attempt abortive, notwithstanding the offers that were made in order to bribe them. After this meeting, William Walsh, a native of Waterford, and Bishop of Meath, who was particularly zealous in the Catholic cause, having preached at Trim, in his own diocese, against the book of Common Prayer, was arrested, thrown into prison, and deposed shortly afterwards by order from the Queen."—*Apud Kenrick, pp.* 228–229. There are two distinct allegations in this statement. We do not see how the last of them, about Walsh, conflicts with Mr. Palmer, who stated that there were two recusant bishops, while Mr. MacGeohegan mentions but one. Walsh was one of the two intended by Mr. Palmer; the other was Thomas, Bishop of Kildare, already mentioned. These men were, in the reign of Mary, intruded into their respective sees. Walsh into the place of Edward Staples, and Leverous into that of Thomas Lancaster, as will be seen in Ware, under the proper heads of Meath and Kildare. They were the only recusant bishops in Ireland.

In the "Annals of Elizabeth," chapter 3, 1560, Ware speaks of this same meeting of the clergy; but he says nothing of any firmness of the bishops, or of any failure. He merely states that such a meeting was called, and then goes on to say, that "among the bishops, William Walsh, then Bishop of Meath, was very zealous for the Romish Church, not content with what offers her majesty had proposed, but very much enraged (after the assembly had dispersed themselves,) he fell to preach against the Common Prayer, (in his diocese at Trim,) which was newly come over and ordered to be observed, for which the Lord Lieutenant confined him till he acquainted her majesty with it, who sent over her orders to clap him in prison. Within a few months after, persisting in the same mind, he was deposed." In the next paragraph, we have an account of the deposition of Leverous, and no other bishop is mentioned as having been proceeded against. A diligent examination of the "Commentary," has shewn that no other was deprived.

But, in fact, the "Protestant Religion" was established in Ireland before this meeting, which took place late in 1560, after Sussex's return from England, where he had been some months; but before he went to England, in January, 1559–1560, the Parliament had met, in which, as Archbishop Kenrick truly informs us in a passage above quoted, the act acknowledging the Queen's supremacy, was passed. When he was so desirous of impressing upon the minds of his readers the fact, that this did not take place for a month after Parker's consecration, he should have asked himself the question, where the Queen got a recusant Irish Archbishop to keep in chains before the oath of supremacy was enacted. To return to our principal matter, we learn from Ware, "Annals," chap. 2, 1559, that in this Parliament, most of the nobility and commons were divided in opinion about the ecclesiastical government, which caused the Earl of Sussex to dissolve them. But, notwithstanding,

they passed the Act of Uniformity. It is remarkable, that here, in speaking of the difficulty which the government encountered, Ware refers it all to the laity, and says not one word about those magnanimous confessors of Mr. MacGeohegan, the Irish bishops. Let us enquire, in the "Commentary," how strenuous was their opposition?

There were anciently many small bishoprics in Ireland, which, by various means, have for a long time been becoming larger and fewer. Some sees have been merged in larger dioceses, while others have been also united together under one bishop. By these means the bishoprics of Ireland had, as early as 1559, been reduced to thirty, as appears from Ware's "Commentary." Of these, [illegible] were vacant. That is to say:

1. Armagh, of which we have already said enough.

2. Clogher. Hugh, or Odo O'Cervallan was bishop in 1557; there is no mention of the time of his death. He is not said to have been deprived, and therefore, if he lived until 1559 it is most likely he conformed. But as Ware seems to have had access to the Parliamentary records of 1559, when he would have sat had he been living, we consider the see vacant.

3. Derry. Bishop Roderick O'Donnel, died in 1551, Bishop George Montgomery was consecrated in 1605. Ware mentions no intermediate bishop, except Eugene Magennis, of the period of whose Episcopate he knows nothing; he may have been the same person with Eugene Magennis, Bishop of Down, who may have held Derry *in commendam*

4. Raphoe. Cornelius O'Cahan was Bishop in 1550. Ware did not know the time of his death. Donagh Magenail sat in the Council of Trent in 1563, but there is no evidence that he was ever in possession of the see; he was probably a titular, appointed by the Pope, after the accession of Elizabeth. George Montgomery, mentioned among the bishops of Derry, was the next bishop who had posses-

sion; he was consecrated, as we have said, in 1605, and held both sees, with, we believe, Clogher.

5. Kilmore. Bishop Eugene Nugent died in Queen Mary's time; "John Brady succeeded," but when, Ware does not say. We consider the see vacant, for the reason we have assigned in the case of Clogher.

6. Dromore. Bishop Arthur Magennis swore fidelity to Edward VI. in 1550; no mention of him afterwards. John Tedd was bishop in 1611. No intermediate bishop is mentioned.

7. Limerick. William Casey was bishop in the reign of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but had been deprived in Queen Mary's reign, and the see was, in 1559, considered vacant. No successor seems to have been appointed to Bishop Casey in Mary's time.

8. Ross. Bishop Dermot McDonnuil died in 1552; he probably resigned before his death, as the Bishop's name, in 1551, was John, of whom Ware knew nothing more.—Thomas O'Herlily sat in the Council of Trent, in 1563, under the title of Bishop of Ross, but he was probably a titular appointed by the Pope, after the accession of Elizabeth.

9. Killala. There was a Bishop named Richard in 1523. Ware says no more of him, he was probably dead in 1559. No other bishop until 1591.

10. Achonry. The Bishop of Achonry, in 1523, was named Cormac. He was probably dead in 1559. In 1563 Eugene O'Harit sat in the Council of Trent as Bishop of Killala. But there is no evidence that he was Bishop in 1559.

Besides these vacancies two bishoprics were held *in commendam*; Kilmacduach with Tuam, and Clonfert, with Elphin. These twelve bishoprics being deducted, there remain fourteen bishops, for whom we must account. Two, Walsh of Meath, and Leverous of Kildare, were deprived. The conformity of the other seven is shewn by their retaining

their sees. Our list follows the order of the provinces, and generally takes the sees in each province in Ware's order, which is explained hereafter.

1. Clonmacnoise. Peter Wall sat from 1554 to 1568.
2. Ardagh. Patrick McMahon, from Queen Mary's time to 1577.
3. Dublin. Hugh Curwin, from 1555 to 1567.
4. Fernes. Alexander Devereux, from 1539 to 1566.
5. Ossory. John Thonory, from 1553 to 1565.
6. Leighlin. [illegible] from 155[illegible] to [illegible]
7. Cashel. Roland Baron or Fitzgerald, from 1553 to 1561.
8. Waterford. Patrick Walsh, from 1551 to 1578.
9. Cork. Roger Skyddy, from 1557 to 1566.
10. Killaloe. Terence O'Brien, from Queen Mary's time to 1566.
11. Ardfert. James Fitz Maurice, from 1551 to 1576.
12. Fenabore. John O'Hinlan, from 1552.
13. Tuam. Christopher Bodkin, from 1536 to 1572.
14. Elphin and Clonfert. Roland De Burg, from 1552 to 1580.
15. Emly. Raymond De Burgh, from 1554 to 1562.
16. Down and Connor. Eugene McGinnis sat in the Parliament of 1569.

It will be observed that at number 12, we have not given the termination of Bishop O'Hinlan's Episcopate, because Ware does not. He tells us, that the Bishop's name, in 1570, was John, who must, of course, be presumed to be the same person, until a change is shown. It would only give an Episcopate of eighteen years.

At No. 13, the date of accession is not from Ware, but from the inferior authority of Beatson's Political Index. But Beatson agrees so exactly with the facts which Ware does state, as to render it probable that his dates are correct.—Thus Ware states that Thomas Hurley, Bishop of Emly,

died at a very advanced age, and was succeeded by Æneas O'Hifferman, who sat ten years, and was succeeded by Bishop De Burgh, who died in 1566. He also states that one Thomas, whom he believes to be Thomas Hurley, was consecrated for this see in 1507, and that Donagh O'Brien obtained the see in 1498, of whom he says nothing more. Beatson calls the bishop who obtained the see, in 1498, Charles McBrian, and says nothing of him beyond that fact. Bishop Hurley, he says, died in 1542, which agrees very well with Ware's dying at a great age and consecration in 1507. Bishop O'Hifferman succeeded, in 1543, after a short vacancy, and Bishop De Burgh in 1554, which, allowing for another short vacancy, just gives Ware's ten years for Bishop O'Hifferman.

Of No. 15, nothing seems to be known, except that he sat in Parliament in 1559, there is no mention of his deprivation, from which it may be fairly inferred that he conformed, unless he died in 1559, but, as there is no mention of him at a later date, that is possible. And if any one insist on striking Bishop McGrath from the list of conforming prelates, we shall not much object.

There will still remain fifteen bishops in possession of sees, besides the deprived bishops, Bale of Ossory, Casey of Limerick, and Lancaster of Kildare, the last is known to have lived at Oxford in Elizabeth's reign. These bishops were able, and, we have reason to suppose, willing, to consecrate Parker.

Archbishop Kenrick then informs us that, "Fitzsimmons, an Irish writer, asserts in a work published in 1614 that there was no Protestant bishop in Ireland at the time spoken of."—p. 229. This is the same writer, whose ignorance of Irish affairs, whether he were Irish or not, was made so conspicuous by his blundering guess about Creagh. It is however undoubtedly true, that at the time spoken of there was no zealous Protestant bishop in Ireland; they had all been removed by Queen Mary, and all but Bale, Casey and

Lancaster were dead. Nobody maintains that, at the accession of Elizabeth, there were any Protestant bishops in Ireland, more than in England. What is said is, that the Irish Romanist bishops under Mary, became Protestants under Elizabeth; and that has been proved.

With respect to Bishop Bale, our author takes occasion to say, that "there is every reason to believe that he was never ordained."—*page* 229. This he proves, after the manner of his party, by citing blunders and omissions as positive proofs of falsehoods. With a remarkable affectation of candor, he admits that Bale, in a work attributed to him, "is named Bishop of Ossory in Ireland; but this work, for the reason just mentioned, is of little authority." The reason just mentioned is, that the work is "certainly antedated." Now, all this is done for the purpose of inducing his readers to believe, that Bale's consecration is of some consequence to the Anglican Succession, and that a book has been forged for the purpose of deceiving people into the belief, that he was consecrated, when he really was not. But it so happens that Bale's consecration is not of the slightest consequence in the world. He was not one of Parker's consecrators; he was not restored to his see, nor appointed to any other; he never acted as a bishop at all in Elizabeth's reign; and there is no evidence that his claims to the episcopate bear, in the slightest degree, upon those of the present Irish bishops; the succession may be broken in modern; there is absolute certainty that they have none with those of England. Why then should a book be forged to furnish such a support to his pretensions as is supplied by his calling himself Bishop of Ossory. The only fact, which our author introduces to impeach the book, is that it is antedated. Of the literal truth of his account we have no doubt. But, according to that very account, the antedating was a blunder; for nobody who was forging a book, which they desired to pass for one published in Queen Mary's reign, could have dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth

by her royal title. The dates in the preface, and at the end of the work, may have been introduced by the writer, when he was writing, and the book not have been published for two years, or they may be mere errors of the press: we observe that he says nothing of the imprint on the title page. We have ourselves seen a copy of the Bible, purporting to have been published in the reign of Elizabeth with the imprint of 1482, doubtless an error for 1582. The mistake about the time of Tunstal's death proves nothing; the fact of his death being mentioned, shews that the book was written or altered in Elizabeth's reign. The whole, however, is a discovery in the line of forgery worthy of Hardouin himself. It is a forgery without end or object; and which the forger took care should deceive nobody.

Another reason for believing that Bale was not consecrated, is that Rymer, whose book relates chiefly, or altogether, to England, has published no documents in relation to this Irish consecration. He mentions particularly the *significavit*, which is not in use in Ireland, and was not at the time in England. Then one Coxe, a Protestant Historian, has committed a mistake; he says, that "Bale, Bishop of Ossory, was consecrated by the popish bishops of Armagh, Kildare and Down", *page*, 229, *note*. This is triumphantly refuted in the text. "But Ware, a more trustworthy author, assures us, that George Dowdal, the Archbishop of Armagh, retired from Ireland and lived beyond the seas, during the reign of Edward, whence on the accession of Mary he was recalled by her in 1553." *page* 229. This is all substantially true; but it is also true, that the same "trustworthy" Ware mentions Bale in his list of the Bishops of Ossory, and "assures us" that "He was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, the second of February 1552, according to the English stile," i. e. 1552—1553, "together with Hugh Goodacre, Archbishop of Armagh, by George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin; assisted by Thomas Kildare and Eugene Down." Coxe has in fact

made two mistakes. First, he has confounded Brown with Dowdall; they were both named George, and at the time of this consecration, Brown enjoyed the title of Primate of all Ireland; which both before and since has belonged to Armagh. Coxe not being familiar with these matters, and not knowing the time at which Dowdall left Ireland, finding some account of the consecration in which it was said to be by George, Primate, supposed Dowdall to be meant. The other mistake is in calling Bishop Thomas Lancaster, who was a Protestant, "popish;" he became very shortly afterwards a confessor for Protestanism, being deprived by Queen Mary. Bishop Eugene Magennis of Down, no doubt conformed to the Church of Rome, in Queen Mary's days; but in king Edward's, he was a Protestant. At that time it was as hard to find a "popish" bishop in Ireland, as it was for Fitzsimmons to find a Protestant one, at the accession of Elizabeth.

ESSAY VI.

THE NAG'S-HEAD FABLE.

THE ridiculous tale of the Nag's-Head consecration, is the next portion of our subject which we shall approach, The Lambeth consecration, is the heart of the controversy if the discussion which the Romanists have got up deserves the name. Our former Essays, had put their readers in possession of the affirmative side of the question, and of such answers as occurred to us to the arguments then adduced against the genuineness of the records, which constitute the direct evidence on the question. Archbishop Kenrick's second edition was, in some measure, a new attempt to assail the position in which we had left the question; and we thought it best to leave nothing connected with the matter unexamined. The question of probabilities, we had but lightly touched upon in our former work, because we really considered it one of very little importance; but in his new edition, he has again brought it forward, with, perhaps, some additional views, and some remarks upon the little which we had formerly said upon the subject. We therefore decided to give that matter a thorough examination also. We consider that the consecration of Parker at Lambeth has been fully proved, and shewn to be true, and, not only true, but, probable. Our author somewhere reminds us that *le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemble*; a sentence which we have just French enough to understand. We hold then that it has been shewn, not only by us, but by the abler men who have preceded us, that the consecration of Parker at Lambeth, is not only *le vrai*, but *le vraisemble*, and that the Nag's-Head Fable is neither.

We shall now proceed to discuss the Nag's-Head story. We shall shew the falsehood of this story; firstly by its extreme improbability; secondly by the worthlessness of the direct testimony, produced to support it; thirdly by the absence of corroborating testimony; and fourthly by the total silence of all contemporary writers. But before commencing this task, we shall take notice of the very cautious position which the Archbishop assumes in this matter. He tells us, that he has "a twofold object; firstly to shew that it is not so destitute of foundation as to justify the reproaches which Protestant writers make against the Catholic divines who related and believed it; and secondly to withhold nothing from the reader which may throw light upon the question which forms the subject of this work." Now the tale is either true or false; he believes it, or he does not. If it is not true, it can throw no light upon the subject; if it is true, and he believes it, why does he not say so? why does he speak of it in the very same paragraph as "this fact or fable as the reader may choose to call it?" Plainly, because he does not believe it to be a fact. If he did, he would not hesitate to avow his conviction. We are then about to argue with an adversary who does not believe in the truth of the tale which he advocates, and which he is endeavoring to make his readers believe; for as to his pretence of defending the memories of the miserable fabricators of this contemptible story, it is palpably a pretence. The first edition of his book was the first work on this subject ever published in this country; the first for many years any where. Did he publish it for the sake of vindicating the memories of Holliwood, and Champney, and Kellison, and Talbot, and the rest of that rabble of calumniators, whom nobody was attacking, and of whom very few had ever heard, and of whom those who had heard of them were neither thinking nor speaking? These men were known only by the falsehoods which they had fabricated; they were only mentioned in connexion with the

Nag's-Head story. As that had passed away, so had they; their names and their infamy had been forgotten together. The kindest thing that Archbishop Kenrick could have done for them, would have been to have suffered the shroud of oblivion still to have covered their disgrace. Why did he not do so? It was not to vindicate them that he published his book. He published it in order to hinder the progress of the true Church in this country; and he inserted the discussion of the Nag's-Head story, to which he was otherwise under no necessity of alluding, for the purpose of bewildering his readers; in hopes that some of them might be induced to believe it. But it would never do for him to profess to believe it himself; he had a reputation for intellect to lose. Therefore, he professes to defend the memories of men, of whom his readers had never heard, until they found their names in his book.

We reject the Nag's-Head story on account of its incredible absurdity. Our author says, page 209, that: "The alleged absurdity of the tale is derived from the impossibility of conceiving how men such as the first bishops of Elizabeth's reign, could so far forget what was due to their character, and position, as to take part in such sacrilegious buffoonery, and select such an inappropriate place for a sacred ceremony as a tavern." This seems to be putting a pretty strong case; but in reality, it leaves out of view the strongest proofs of the absurdity, which is the basis of the argument. Lest we should by accident have some reader, who does not know what the story of the Nag's-Head is, we may as well state, that it is a tale, that some of the bishops, who were nominated to fill the sees of England, soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, who or how many, the concocters of the tale are not agreed, met together at a tavern in Cheapside, called the Nag's-Head, and there consecrated one another, or were consecrated by Bishop Scory, one of the real consecrators of Archbishop Parker, after an absurd form, without imposition of hands,

and without the face of a religious ceremony. We have said after an absurd form; but it is just as well to state, that the concocters of the tale are not agreed what the form was. They give us two distinct forms, but both equally absurd. The inference from the tale, and that for which it was got up, is, that all the bishops in England, and in this country, ever since, have no other consecration than that which can be traced to the parties in this ridiculous scene; and that, consequently, the Churches in England and America have not the Apostolic Succession, and are not true Churches. Such is the story, and such the object for which it was framed, and for which Archbishop Kenrick now repeats it, cautiously abstaining, however, from saying that he believes it. We have said that we reject this story, on account of its incredible intrinsic absurdity; that absurdity we shall proceed to expose.

The scene, said to have been enacted at the Nag's-Head, may be considered in two points of view. It may be regarded merely as a piece of profane, or as Archbishop Kenrick, in language scarcely too strong, calls it, "sacrilegious buffoonery;" or it may be regarded as means to an end, as the means by which the actors were to be put into the possession of temporal wealth and ecclesiastical power. In the first point of view, the story is certainly sufficiently absurd; but it is only when we look at it in the second, that the full force of its absurdity is perceived. It is to be observed that the Romanist writers, represent the bishops, who, as they say, were consecrated at the Nag's-Head as acting with strange inconsistency. They tell us that the tavern was sought for privacy, while they represent every one as having free access to the room, even persons who came with an intention of preventing the ceremony. And now, Archbishop Kenrick tells us that witnesses are necessary, *page* 226. Now this difficulty is inherent in the very plot of the fable; it *was* necessary to keep secret the fact, that they had been consecrated, if without profaneness we

may use the term, in so illegal and profane a manner, and it *was* necessary to prove the fact of their consecration. The two things could not both be; and this brings out the real difficulty of the case. The Nag's-Head consecration was a means to an end, and it was utterly inadequate to that end. No one circumstance existed to render it available. Spiritual powers it is not pretended that any one ever thought it could convey; legal powers it could not convey; public respect it must have diminished, if not destroyed. As to legal rights, the statute of 25 Henry VIII. cap. 20 requires the presence of four bishops at a consecration, unless when an Archbishop is there. The Queen's writ authorizing the consecration of Parker, was also requisite; two are extant, one requires four bishops, the other six. The ordinal of Edward VI. was or was not the law of the land; if it were, three bishops were required by it; if it were not, then the Roman Pontifical was the law of the land, and that requires three also. Every way, the consecration, as it is called, was utterly illegal, and incapable of producing any effect, except that of disgracing those who took a part in it. The whole story is too absurd to be believed for a moment, looked at by itself. What then is to become of it when brought into connexion, as it must be, with the facts stated in the documents connected with the Lambeth consecration, documents which have been shewn, over and over again, to be worthy of full credit? Nor must the facts which we have shewn in our note on the Irish Episcopate be forgotten.

This view of the subject, Archbishop Kenrick does not pretend to meet. He tries, as it were, to palliate the absurdity of the story, by the fact that "the most respectable associations have met in taverns," by this admission, or, as perhaps it might be better called, conjecture, that a dinner was given to the lawyers concerned in the confirmation, at the Nag's-Head; which admission, or conjecture, being really inconsistent with the whole story, he chooses to call the dinner a meeting. For the sake of the present argu-

ment, he forgets that he denies, and forgets that his friends deny, that Parker was ever confirmed, and that they maintain that the writ by virtue of which he was confirmed, and the record of his confirmation are both forged. He forgets too, that if Parker was never confirmed, then there was no meeting on occasion of his confirmation; and if he were, then the argument for the forgery of the documents, which prove, not only his confirmation, but his consecration, is gone, and the whole Nag's-Head tale must go with it. Furthermore, in Fuller's time, there was the resemblance of a pulpit at the entrance of the Nag's-Head tavern, which gives weight, certainly not where it was not wanted, to our author's own original conjecture, that there might have been a domestic chapel at the Nag's-Head. As if the very idea of a chapel, a sacred place, did not at once bring back a train of ideas wholly inconsistent with those upon which the whole tale is founded. He then tells us that Dr. Lingard, our contemporary, says, that the Nag's-Head was "The inn chiefly frequented by the clergy at the time." Finally after repeating some of the exaggerated accounts of the want of learning and piety in the Church of England, of which we have taken occasion to speak in a former Essay and the notes to it, he speaks of this state of confusion, and then asks "can we be surprised at the hole and corner character of a consecration which three Catholic bishops refused to perform; and

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In connection with this part of the subject, he introduces a footnote to give countenance to the story of Boner's interference, of which we shall speak presently, by saying that Cheapside was within Boner's jurisdiction. But if Cheapside, be, as is probable, from the vicinity of the church, in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, it was not in Boner's jurisdiction. St. Mary le Bow, being a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which is the very reason that confirmations are performed in that church; it being the ancient place for the session of the Court of Arches, in which the Dean of the Arches, administered the ecclesiastical law to the peculiars of the Archbishop within the diocese of London—*See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iii. p.* 65.

which Kitchin might well be ashamed to perform in public, —the bishop elect being notorious for his heterodox tenets." The Bishop elect being, although no Romanist, a better Catholic than either Bishop Kitchin or Archbishop Kenrick, if the doctrines of the Primitive Church be the rule of Catholicity; and Kitchin, according to one Nag's-Head tale not having been present, and, according to our author's account, having refused to consecrate at all, a fact which makes one of his arguments for the forgery of the commission of the sixth of December. So end our author's "most exquisite reasons" why the Nag's-Head is not absurd. They will be found at pages, 207, 210, 211.

We also reject the tale of this Nag's-Head farce, on account of the utter worthlessness of the direct testimony, by which it is attempted to be supported. Direct testimony, in any proper sense of the words, there is none; it all rests upon hearsay, and that of a very suspicious character. Archbishop Kenrick ventures to say, at pages 222, 223; "Thus we have several distinct relations of this event, through grave and trustworthy persons, who had no motive to cause them to give hasty credence to an idle tale, and who have left the strongest evidence of their attachment to truth, by adhering to a proscribed cause and suffering the loss of station, preferment, and the deprivation of their liberty for many years." We have no wish to depreciate the merit of these confessors for the Romish Church; no doubt they suffered for doing what they thought was their duty. But it is well known that they did not suffer simply for their opinions. Archbishop Heath, the very man who put the great seal to the writ for burning Cranmer, held Romish opinions, but lived and died at large. These men were imprisoned, because they were the active agents of the pope, the means by which he was carrying on a war, not only against the Church of England, but against the Queen, whom he had excommunicated, and was endeavoring to depose. They were partizans of the most bitter character,

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and their sufferings would have no tendency to diminish their bitterness. They had in fact the strongest human motives for believing any and every tale against the Church of England; and we have no doubt that they would have believed the Nag's-Head tale, upon any evidence, or upon no evidence at all, had they happened to hear of it. Our belief is, that they never did hear of it, for we should have had written and printed evidence that they had, produced in a way which nobody could doubt. As to those who actually did print and publish the tale, which they professed to have heard from these men, they are by no means to be included in any favourable remarks which we have made; there is abundant evidence that they fabricated the story, and circulated it, well knowing that it was false, and used the names of the confessors at Wisbech, to give countenance to their falsehoods.

Archbishop Kenrick speaks of "several distinct relations of this event." There are at most, but two "distinct relations," that of Neale and that of Faircloth. Of Neale's story, or, more accurately, of the story attributed to Neale, there are several versions, disagreeing with each other; but they all profess to give the same relation. Our author tells us, *page* 219 *et seq*, that Neale's testimony has been transmitted to us "through several distinct channels, through Holliwood, Champney, Kellison, Pitzæus, Fitzsimmons, Constable." The last of these is an imaginary channel; Constable's book, whatever it was, has never been published, and what is called his testimony is merely an alleged quotation, from a supposed manuscript, which appears in Kellison and Champney; he is not then a distinct channel. Moreover he says nothing whatever, in this extract, either of Neale or the Nag's-Head, so that he is no channel at all for transmitting Neale's testimony. We shall return to him presently. The dates of the publication of the story, fathered on Neale by the other writers mentioned, are Holliwood, 1604; Champney, 1616; Pitzæus, 1618; Kellison, 1608, and again

in 1616; Fitzsimmons, 1614. These dates are all, except in the case of Holliwood, assigned by our author, and are not at all matter of dispute. Our author says that Holliwood published at Rome in 1603.

The first announcement of the Nag's-Head tale, was then in 1604, forty five years after the alleged event, and several years after Neale's death. It was first published in Latin, in Italy, and does not seem to have been much, if at all, known in England, before 1608; when Kellison published it in the English language and circulated his book in England. Even then, it was stated in a very general manner. Mason, in the body of his book, *Ed.* 1613, *page*, 123, makes his Romish disputant say,—the book is a dialogue,—"Dr. Kellison saith that he heard it credibly reported, that some of your new superintendents were made bishops at the Nag's-Head in Cheap. A fit church for such a consecration, and it is most likely that Matthew Parker was one of them because he was the first." He cites in the margin, *reply to D. Sutcliff p.* 31. This then, was the first form in which the tale was really ventured into the world in England. It is true, it was then somewhat farther advanced in Italy; for Holliwood had published a statement there, somewhat more full, but very remarkably differing from those which followed. Our author at pages 219, 220, undertakes to give us Holliwood's account of the matter, but it is evident he has never seen Holliwood, and has taken the statement in his first edition (page 87,) at second hand from some blunderer. He has since seen Holliwood's statement in the Appendix to Mason, published by us in our Essays, *page* 136 *et seq.* This has given him an opportunity of committing an original error. The account which our author has published as Holliwood's, and which we, having then no means of correcting the mistake, copied as such in our "Essays" was

That is at the time when we wrote the passage. We undoubtedly ought to have corrected the error into which the Archbishop had led us,

it, is not Holliwood's at all, but Fitzherbert's. Mason, in the Appendix to which we have referred, quotes it from the "Preface to a book called the Discussion, &c." This book was written by Parsons; Fitzherbert published a new edition of it in 1613, not 1603, and prefixed the preface which Mason cites correctly, and Archbishop Kenrick as from Holliwood. The passage, as given by Mason and ourselves, actually cites Holliwood, as the authority, under his translated name of De Sacrobosco; and Mason goes on to give the genuine passage from Holliwood, in the original Latin, which we also copied. Our author finding the quotation which he had given as Holliwood's, and no doubt believed to be his, quoted from the Preface to a book called the "Discussion, &c," somewhat hastily concluded that that book was Holliwood's. He consequently, in his second edition, page 219, gravely informs us, that it is so; although it is the very work which in a note, page 211, he rightly attributes to Fitzherbert, and rightly says was published in 1613. The true title of Holliwood's book is *De Investiganda* Christi *Ecclesia*.

Besides the mistake we have just mentioned, Archbishop Kenrick has fallen into another about Holliwood. He states, in both of his editions, that he published in 1603; all other authorities we believe, agree that it was in 1604. These two errors combined have led us into another. At page 84 of our former "Essays," we have stated that Holliwood has given two accounts of the Nag's-Head affair, "one in 1603, which we have copied from Mr. Kenrick." This was Fitzherbert's which we had so copied, believing, on the authority of the Archbishop, that it was Holliwood's. The other, which we say "was published in 1604," was Holliwood's real account which, with the true date, we had found in Dr.

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when we obtained access to Mason, which we did before we published the separate edition of our "Essays;" but we had no suspicion of its existence, and therefore never examined the matter until now.

Elrington's work, and, comparing them together, thought the discrepancies worth noting. The particular discrepancy, which we then pointed out, was, that while Holliwood spoke of Kitchin, as present and deterred from taking a part by the menaces of Boner, and spoke of the abuse bestowed upon him by the candidates, though with less of detail than Champney, the other account, Fitzherbert's, speaks of Kitchin as not present. The exact expression which it uses, is, "being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, who should have been there to consecrate them, they dealt with Scory of Hereford," &c. This we interpreted to mean that Kitchin was not present, and, as it seems, rightly; for the person who palmed off the passage upon Archbishop Kenrick as Holliwood's, has also garbled it. The passage which we have just quoted, he gave as continuous, whereas it is made up of the beginning and end of a very long and crowded sentence, and the words, which immediately precede the mention of Scory, are, "these grave prelates assembled as aforesaid, seeing the bishop whom they expected, came not to consecrate them." This places Fitzherbert in the singular position of pretending to quote Holliwood, and directly contradicting him.

We shall now give a translation of Holliwood's statement of Neale's testimony, being undoubtedly the first appearance in public of the Nag's-Head tale. "In the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth," says he, "sectarian bishops were to be created. The candidates assembled at London, in a certain tavern in a street, called in English Cheapside, at the sign of the Nag's-Head, and with them the Bishop of Llandaff, a simple old man, to confer the orders, when he understood that Boner, then Dean of the Bishops in England, had sent his Chaplain from the Tower of London, where he was confined on account of his religion, who would prohibit Llandaff to ordain the new candidates under the threatened penalty of excommunication; but Llandaff, terrified by this threat, drew back, used much tergiversation, and avoided

this sacrilegious ordination. Hereupon the candidates raged, despised Llandaff, sought new counsels; what more? Scory, a monk, (afterwards pseudo-bishop of Hereford,) imposes hands on the rest, some one of the rest on Scory, so the sons were made without a father, and the father begotten by the sons, a thing unheard through all ages. This Dr. Thomas Neale, afterwards Hebrew reader at Oxford, who was present, relates to the old Confessors, they to me, and it gives it credit, that afterwards in Parliament a decree was made that these Parliamentary bishops should be considered lawful."—*Holliwood, c.* 4. *See Mason, Ed.* 1613, *p.* 268. *Evans' Essays, 1st Series*, 137-8. Our readers will observe, that Holliwood omits to state that Neale was himself the Chaplain sent by Boner to prohibit Llandaff. It is also worthy of note, that imposition of hands is expressly mentioned, although Scory's Episcopal character is denied by implication, and it is falsely asserted, that he received consecration from one of those upon whom he had just conferred it. Another subject worthy of remark is, that it names no one of the candidates, as it calls them, except Scory.

Now, the story of Fitzherbert, which Archbishop Kenrick mistook for Holliwood's, and which was in fact founded upon his tale as its cited authority, differs from Holliwood's actual statement, both by omission and insertion. Our author says, "Holliwood, called from the Italian of his name Sacrobosco, asserts that he heard it from a holy priest, named Thomas Haberley, to whom Neale had communicated the fact."—*page* 19. But neither Holliwood nor Fitzherbert appear to have mentioned Haberley at all. Holliwood says that he heard it from old confessors, to whom Neale had related it, but he names no man. After our last quotation, immediately follows Fitzherbert's version, founded as we have seen upon Holliwood's, but differing from it, as we have already said, both by omission and addition. It names five candidates, as Holliwood has called them. Jew-

ell, Sandys, Scory, Horn, Grindall, and then adds the general words, "and others." So much for addition. Then for omission, it omits all mention of imposition of hands, or indeed, of any ceremony of ordination, only saying that, "being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, who should have been there to consecrate them, they dealt with Scory of Hereford to do so; who, when they were all on their knees, caused John Jewell to rise up Bishop of Salisbury, and him that was Robert Horn before, to rise up Bishop of Winchester, and so forth, with all the rest."—*Apud Kenrick*, 2*d Ed. p.* 220, 1*st Ed.* 87. It is to be ob-

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It may be as well to reprint the whole of this tale of Fitzherbert. It is as follows, "Of Mr. Jewel's being bishop, we have not so much certainty, yea we have no certainty at all. For who, I pray you, made him? who gave him his jurisdiction? who imposed hands upon him? what orders had they? what bishops were they?

"136. True it is that both he, Sands, Scory, Horne, Grindall, and others, (if I mistake not their names,) in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, met at the Horsehead in Cheapside, (a fit sign for such a sacrament,) and being disappointed of the Catholic Bishop of Llandaff, who should have been there to consecrate them, they used the like art as the Lollards once did in another matter, who being desirous to eat flesh on Good Friday, and yet fearing the penalties of the law, in such cases appointed, took a pig, and diving him under the water, said 'Down pig and up pike;' and then after constantly avouched that they had eaten no flesh but fish: so I say these grave prelates assembled as aforesaid, seeing the bishop whom they expected came not to consecrate them, they dealt with Scory of Hereford to do it, who, when they were all on their knees, caused him who kneeled down John Jewel to rise up Bishop of Salisbury; and him that was Robert Horne before, to rise up Bishop of Winchester; and so forth with all the rest. Which Horsehead ordering was after confirmed synodically by parliament, wherein they were acknowledged for true bishops: And it was further enacted, that none should make any doubt, or call in question that ordination.

"'137. This was the first ordering of Master Jewel, and the rest, as I have been informed by one who heard it from Master Neale, reader of the Hebrew Lecture in Oxford, who was there present, and an eye-witness of what was done and passed,'" &c.—*Apud Mason, Ed.* 1613, *pages* 267–8. *Evans' Ess.* 1844, *page* 137.

served that the story had not yet got the length of naming Parker among those consecrated at the tavern. It is to be observed, too, that this is all that had been published before Mason's book, in 1613. He had not seen, as he tells us, Fitzherbert's book until his own "work had almost passed the press," and the date of the edition, in which this preface first appeared, is 1613, the same year with Mason's. This fact is stated by Archbishop Kenrick, in the note already mentioned at page 211.

The next relator of Neale's testimony, in point of time, is Fitzsimmons or Fitzsimon, whose *Brittannomachia* was published at Doway in 1614, as we learn from the note just cited, and also from our English correspondent, who has furnished us with an extract from his book, which we have used in our note on the Irish Episcopate. This is sometimes spoken of as the fourth edition of the story. Holliwood's, in 1604, being counted the first; the brief allusion of Kellison in 1608, mentioned by Mason, the second; Fitzherbert's the third. All these we have given to our readers. Fitzsimon's book we have never seen, and although we infer from the manner in which Archbishop Kenrick cites him, on page 227, that he has had that advantage, he has not seen fit to publish his statement. We are, therefore, obliged to take it from Dr. Elrington's Answer to Gandolphy, whose account of it we have given in a note.

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[1] *From Elrington on the Validity of English Ordination, p.* 59.

"We now come to a fourth edition of the story by *Fitzsimon*. He tells us in his *Britannomachia Ministrorum*, that 'when religion was to be totally altered by Queen *Elizabeth*, the true Bishops being fled or committed to prison, several hungry sacrilegious men gaped after the vacant preferments, and the Queen was obliged to give them to such of those persons who appeared for them, as could at least have some show of Episcopal consecration. By the law of the land, conformably to the Canon Law, three Bishops are required to consecrate a Bishop, and without that number none is looked upon to be duly consecrated. But at this time there was not three, nor two, nor one Bishop in all

We have included in our note some remarks of Dr. Elrington's own, which are well worthy of preservation.

England (as the author I have before referred to affirms,) that could and would consecrate the others.'

"He then digresses to the invalidity of Orders conferred in King *Edward's* time, which is not necessary to quote at present, and proceeds to say, that 'he was aware that one English Bishop, the meanest of them for wisdom and learning, *Anthony Kitchen*, Bishop of Llandaff, turned over to the Reformers. But even he, though commissioned in the first place by Queen *Elizabeth*, was so far from executing that wicked commission, (whether being frightened by *Bonner's* threatening, or, of himself, abhorring so profane an action,) that he pretended himself to be blind, and consequently unable to perform the office, which, he says, *Stowe*, the chronicler, confessed upon all occasions, though he durst not publish it in his History, for fear of being put out of the Synagogue. There was at this time an Irish Archbishop, prisoner in the Tower, whom, with a promise of his liberty and a good reward, they humbly requested to take pity of the Church in her great want of ministers, and to perform the ordination. But the good man (as *Sanders* says) could not be prevailed upon by any means to lay his holy hands upon heretics, and to be partaker of other men's sins. And they having in vain tried so many ways to gratify their own hasty ambition, when no other remedy offered itself, they themselves met together on a day agreed upon, A. D. 1559, at the *Nag's-Head* or *Horse-Head* Tavern, in the chief street in London, Cheapside. Resolving to finish the work they had entered upon, they made choice out of their company of *Scorye*, an apostate monk. *Junius* says, (but with the religion of a Calvinist,) that in the Church imposition of hands was antiently nothing more but a friendly taking the person by the hand. *Scorye* having this reflection in his head, bids them all fall down upon their knees, and then taking *Parker* by the hand, says, up! rise Lord Bishop of *Canterbury;* and again, in like manner to *Grindall*, up! rise Lord Bishop of *London;* so to *Horn*, up! rise Lord Bishop of *Winchester;* and then to *Sandes*, up! rise Lord Bishop of *Worcester;* and so of the rest. But this was not the end of the play, which is of great importance not to conceal; for it was not fit that our unhappy *Ischyras* should return from the tavern unrewarded, but should, for this worthy action, be promoted to the Bishoprick of Hereford. But who would

The next transmittor of the story, in chronological order, is the same Dr. Kellison, who has been already several times

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give it to the ambitious Apostate? You need not ask that question; in such an irregular ordination, no wonder if, by a strange prodigy, the father be begotten by one of his sons. For that it was so in fact, *Thomas Neale*, an eye witness of the whole mock consecration, (which he came from Oxford on purpose to see,) declared both to *Thomas Haberly*, a pious, grave and reverend old man, now living in the Netherlands, and to many others.'

"Here we find a vast change, though *Neale* is still quoted as the authority, for what is said of *Stowe* plainly is limited to the fact that *Kitchen* of Llandaff, did not act as a consecrator. A new character, an Irish Archbishop, confined in the Tower, is introduced, but Fitzsimon does not appear to have been able to discover his name. It happens, however, that our want of information on this head does not at all prevent our being able to prove the falsehood of this part of the story, for it is clearly ascertained, that no Irish Archbishop was at that time in the Tower, or any other prison in England. The See of Armagh was vacant, *Dowdall* having died in August, 1558, and if *Donat O'Teig* was his successor, there is reason to believe that he was not consecrated till 1560, and he did not come to England till the end of that year; if *Creagh* was his successor, the interval was still greater, for he was not consecrated till 1563; and as to the other Irish Archbishops, *Curwin*, of Dublin, *Baron*, of Cashel, and *Bodekine*, of Tuam, they conformed to the Protestant Religion, as appears by their having retained their Sees.

"Let us examine the other novelties introduced into this narrative. Instead of making the *Nag's-Head* consecration follow, without interruption, the refusal of Llandaff, we have the application to the Irish Archbishop interposed, and the agreement to meet at the *Nag's-Head*, (though one of the motives assigned for the choice of a tavern, the making of the Bishop of Llandaff drunk, could not be alleged by this story-teller,) made subsequent to that refusal. In this narrative, it is also to be observed, that to the names given in the preceding, we find that of *Parker* added; the story, contrary to the nature of a real tradition, growing more particular as it removes from its original source; so particular indeed does it now grow, that the very words are reported which *Scorye* used, and the form of this whole proceeding is described,

mentioned. The development of the story in this man's mind is worthy of remark. We learn from Dr. Elrington, see our former "Essays," (page 129, note h,) that Kellison learned his story between 1603 and 1616—in 1603, he published his English "Survey of the New Religion," and a second edition of it in 1605, in neither of these books did he mention the story at all. This, as when he knew it, he did mention it, is conclusive proof, that as late as 1605, after Holliwood's publication, he did not know it. Archbishop Kenrick is of a different opinion. In his first edition he said: "That it is not unusual for Catholic," by which he meant Romish, "writers to omit the discussion of a matter of fact when they have objections which establish their point even on the supposition, that the disputed fact actually occurred."—*Kenrick*, 1*st Ed. p.* 100. To this we replied; that "this is the very first time we have heard such folly imputed to (Roman) Catholic, or indeed any other writers. It is not unusual, under such circumstances, to discuss both questions; but we believe it to be very unusual to pass over without allusion, that question which presents, as matters of fact generally do, the shortest, most easily understood, and to common minds the most satisfactory, termination of the controversy."—*Essays*, *p.* 88. Archbishop Kenrick, not liking the position in which this argument places the Romish writers, to whom he had himself imputed what every reader must see would be gross folly, in his second edition, page 226, quietly, and without mentioning it, substitutes "disputants" for Catholic writers, and leaves the sentence, in other respects, as it was. It is abundantly sufficient for us to deny, in this new form, the assertion which he has de-

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and this we shall presently find to be the means of supplying additional proof of the falsehood of the whole narrative, which indeed appears ill able to support itself against the contradictions and falsehoods with which it has already been shewn to abound, even though *Neale* himself were the immediate relator."

clined to repeat in the old, and which he has not in either shape maintained by a single example. But there was another argument immediately following the one which we have mentioned, of which he takes no notice. It is this; "in his later writings Kellison does urge this objection, and the inference is irresistible, that if he had known it before, he would have used it before. Now, up to 1608 he did not urge it, after that period he did. We infer, therefore, that he did not know of it before it was published by Holliwood in 1608;" (1604,) "and we conclude from that inference, that a fact of which Kellison, a distinguished writer among the Romanists, was ignorant, was not generally known and could not have been frequently published."

In 1608, Dr. Kellison made the brief statement which we have already transcribed, that he had heard it credibly reported that some of the new superintendents were made bishops at the Nag's-Head, and on the same page, falsely cited Sanders, as saying that they made one another bishops. In 1613, Mason denied both these assertions. From t[h]is support of his false position about Sanders, Kellis[on] shrunk; but in 1616 he published a long and circumstan[tial] account of the Nag's-Head consecration.

In this he develops the story of Stow, whom Fitzsimon had brought in, telling, as a great secret, that Kitchin did not consecrate Parker, and relating, in the same cautious manner, Sanders' tale of the Irish Archbishop; then, omitting all mention of Kitchen, he tells us, as from Constable, that in consequence of the refusal of the fictitious archbishop, they were forced to have recourse to Scory, which otherwise they had not desired. Thus going in the teeth of the undisputed commission of the 9th September, 1559.—Then, dropping Constable and Stow, he takes up Neale, which part of his tale is manifestly copied from Sacrobosco or Holliwood, whom he immediately afterwards cites as an independent authority, he then gets back to the statutes, in

relation to which he uses some of Sanders' ideas without acknowledgment.

We have seen that Kellison has cited Constable as his authority, for the fact of the imaginary Archbishop's refusal, and of the appeal to Scory, whom they had not before thought of employing. In the same year in which Kellison published his "*Examen Novæ Reformationis*," the work from which the above extract is taken, Champney, another Romish priest, published a book, on the Vocation of Bishops. In

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We give the passage immediately from Archbishop Kenrick's second edition, page 221. He has copied it from our former "Essays," pp. 129, 130, and we from Elrington, pp. 65, 66, 67. The passage itself is as follows:

"That as none of the Catholic Prelates would ordain Queen Elizabeth's new bishops, they were obliged to wait upon an Irish Archbishop, then prisoner in the tower, and with many entreaties and offers of great rewards, to desire him to lay hands on them; which bishop refusing, they were forced to request Scory's assistance, which otherwise they had not desired, because they knew him only to be a titular bishop, and unlawfully made in King Edward's time. So Constable relates it from Stow, who, though he durst not put it into his chronicle, yet used often to tell it to the Catholics of whom some are yet alive. Many others worthy of all credit have related the same; and one Thomas Neale, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, who also himself was an eye witness, used to declare to many persons (whereof some are yet living) that the consecration of the first mock bishops, under Queen Elizabeth, was in a tavern in London, at the Nag's-Head in Cheapside; a fit church for such a consecration. So also Sacro Bosco (Holliwood) relates it, and because they were sensible that they were not consecrated according to the Statute, 25th Henry VIII., which requires that a bishop be not consecrated but by three bishops, with the consent of the Metropolitan; and besides that a rumor was set abroad that they were not rightly ordained bishops, they were forced to call for the assistance of the secular arm, that they might in a following parliament be confirmed by the lay power."—*Kenrick, 2d Ed.* 226, *see also Evans' Essays, pp.* 129, 130. *Elrington on the Validity of English Ordinations, p.* 65, *et seq.*

a subsequent edition of this work, there is some mention of Constable and his manuscripts. This we give from Archbishop Kenrick's second edition, page 223; he cites Champney, pages 501, 502:

"'Not only,' says Champney, 'the Catholics, who might appear to our adversaries of suspicious faith,—are witnesses of this solemn meeting at the Nag's-Head; but also John Stow, that most famous chronographer of England, a professor of the reformed religion, bore witness to it,—not, indeed, in his writings, for he dared not, but by his word, to some of his acquaintances, men of the most undoubted faith (integerrimae fidei,) some of whom are yet living, and attest the same; who, however, are not to be named here, as they are no less afraid to testify that publicly of him who is now dead, than he was to write it when he lived.

"But concerning this thing I find the following in the manuscripts of that learned and noble man, Henry Constable, who, as all who knew him will acknowledge, was of a strong and sharp mind, and was not easily moved by light conjectures. 'Parker was ordained by at most two heretic priests, not bishops. If, indeed, Barlow assisted Scory in that action; which I indeed know not (quod me quidem latet.) But that old man, the bishop of Llandaff, who was brought to the place designed for the consecration of Parker and the rest, pretended to have lost the use of his eyes, lest he should commit so great a sacrilege;—whence it happened, that they recurred to Scory, of whom before they had not thought; which not only Catholics of most unquestionable integrity, who were eye-witnesses of the affair, testify, but also John Stow is witness of the same, who diligently inquired into all the circumstances of this action, although he feared to relate them in his Chronicle.'"

In this statement of Champney's, there are two references to Stow, the first apparently in Champney's own account, the other on the authority of Constable. In the second reference, no mention is made of the Archbishop, whom Sanders had invented, but it speaks of Llandaff; whereas Kellison, speaking of the same Stow, on the authority of the same Constable, says nothing of Llandaff, but mentions the feigned Archbishop. It is remarkable, that in the first edition of Champney's book, Doway 1616, which is before us, there is no mention of Constable. The passage about

Stow occurs at page 169, very much as Archbishop Kenrick has given it; but there is no mention of Constable or his manuscripts. The inference is, that Champney knew, in 1616, nothing about them, ; but having picked up the idea from Kellison's book, he falsely pretended to have seen the manuscript, and made it fit the story which he had previously published.

The next teller of the tale, is Champney, the same whom we have just mentioned. Archbishop Kenrick gives it to us at pages 207, 208, 209, and cites Champney, 499. The testimony is as follows:

"At the Nag's-Head, in Cheapside, by accorded appointment, met all those who were nominated to bishoprics; thither came also the old Bishop of Llandaff, to make them bishops; which being known to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, then prisoner, he sent unto the bishop of Llandaff, forbidding him, under pain of excommunication, to exercise any such power within his diocese, as to ordain these men. Wherewith the old bishop being terrified, and besides also moved in his own conscience, refused to proceed in that action; alleging, chiefly, for reason of his forbearance, his want of sight: which excuse they interpreting to be an evasion, they were much moved against the poor old man. And whereas, hitherto, they had used him with all courtesy and respect, they then changed their copy; reviling him and calling him 'doating fool,' and the like: some of them saying, 'This old fool thinketh we cannot be bishops unless we be greased,'—to the disgrace as well of him, as of the Catholic manner of episcopal consecration. Being, notwithstanding, thus deceived in their expectation, and having no other means to come to their desire, they resolve to use Master Scory's help, who, having borrowed the name of bishop in King Edward's time, was thought to have sufficient power to perform that office, especially in such strait necessity. He having cast off, together with his religious habit, all scruple of conscience, did the thing quickly, which he performed in this sort. Having the Bible in his hand, they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads or shoulders, saying, '*Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely*,' and so they rose up bishops. This whole narration, without adding or detracting any word pertaining to the substance of the matter, I have heard oftener than once, of Master Thomas Bluett, a grave, learned and judicious priest; he

having received it of Master Neal, a man of good sort and reputation, sometime reader of the Hebrew Lecture in Oxford; but when this matter passed, was belonging to Bishop Bonner, and sent by him to deliver the message before mentioned to the Bishop of Llandaff, and withal to attend there to see the end of the business. Again Mr. Bluett had other good means to be informed of this matter, being a long time prisoner with Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, and other men of note of the ancient clergy, in whose time, and in whose sight, one may say the matter was done. This was related to me by Master Bluett in Wisbech castle.' In the Paris edition of 1618, this last circumstance is thus mentioned. 'And of this narration, there are now as many witnesses as there are priests living, who were captives for the faith in the aforesaid castle of Wisbech, with the aforesaid Master Bluett, in which place I also had it from him.'

The last authority which our author produces is Pitzæus, who published in 1618, at Paris, a book, *De Illustribus Anglice Scriptoribus*, of which we know nothing, but what we learn from the book before us. Our author says that Pitzæus "states, that Neal is said to have been sent by Boner to the Nag's-Head, to excommunicate Llandaff, should he proceed to consecrate the new bishops. This, along with other particulars regarding Neal, he appears to have learned from Henry Orton, a layman, who, in August, 1581, was examined along with twelve priests, by authority of the government, concerning certain passages extracted from the works of Sanders, Bristow and Allen. In 1585, he was sent into exile along with twenty-one priests, who were unexpectedly, by the Queen's order, put on board a vessel, and landed, against their wills, upon the coast of Normandy."—*pages* 220, 221.

If the value of Mr. Orton's information to Pitzæus, is to be judged of by the other circumstances respecting Neale, which he communicated to him, it was not worthy of much attention. To the passage which we have just cited, our author appends a note, which is the citation of the authority on which he relies. He prudently keeps that authority in Latin:

"Erat (Neal) vir in fide catholica semper educatus, et in ea solide fundatus. Unde in omnibus quæ suo tempore contigerunt in Anglia circa religionem mutationibus immutabilis semper perstitit, et nihil unquam sua vocatione alienum, nihil viro pio, gravi, et docto indignum commisit, licet alioquin esset naturæ mirum in modum timidæ.—Hic ille ipse est qui a Revdmo D. D. Episcopo Londinensi, Bonero missus esse dicitur initio regni Elizabethæ ad episcopum Landavensem, ne novellis quibusdam ministris (qui episcopi fieri cuperent, nec tamen catholici esse vellent,) manus cito imponeret. Adfuitque quando ex illis unis quidam *non consecratus ipse* alios nova forma consecrare præsumpsit, Londini, in vico dicto *Cheapside* ad caput manuli.—Pitzæus, p. 770. Paris, 1618."—*Kenrick, page* 220, *note.*

The English of the above is as follows:

"He (Neale) was always educated in the Catholic faith and solidly founded in it. Hence, in all those changes, which in his time happened in England about religion, he remained always unchangeable, and never did any thing foreign from his calling, nor any thing unworthy of a pious, grave and learned man, although, upon other matters, of a nature timid to a wonderful degree. He it was who is said to have been sent in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, by the Right Reverend Dr. Boner, Bishop of London, to the Bishop of Llandaff, lest he should hastily lay hands on certain new ministers, (who desired to be bishops, yet were not willing to be Catholics,) and was present when a certain one of them, himself not consecrated, presumed to consecrate others by a new form."

There is nothing in this passage about excommunication; but the important fact is the character of Neale, "a man timid in all other things, but inflexible in his profession of Romanism, who never did, amongst all the changes of religion in England, any thing unworthy of a grave, pious and learned Romanist;" for although the word used is man, it is quite manifest that Pitzæus is praising him for his attachment to Romanism. Yet this inflexible Romanist was for several years Queen Elizabeth's Professor of Hebrew in the Protestant University of Oxford, and occasionally, as it would appear, although but seldom, frequented the Protes-

22 at the Nag's head in the street called Cheapside in London.

tant churches, and in them received the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper. Of course he could not have held his office without taking the oath of supremacy. These things being true, it seems quite clear, that either he was not so well founded in the Romish faith as Pitzæus supposed, or that he did a good many things very unworthy of a pious man. Now, these things may be read in our author's second edition, page 218, and in his first, pages 205, 206, in an extract from Anthony Wood's account of Neale, in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*. We should say then, that he must have been either a Protestant or a dissembler. It would seem either that Mr. Orton, if he were Pitzæus' informant, knew very little of Neale, or was not very scrupulous about truth; or else that Pitzæus misquoted him in a way to destroy his own credibility. It is worthy of note that Pitzæus does not assert the truth of the story which he repeats, but merely says that Neale "is said," *dicitur*, to have been sent, and to have been present. He regards the whole as a part of his glorification of Neale; of whom he gives a character which he knew to be false. John Pits, whom our author calls Pitzæus, although, we believe, that his name is more usually Latinized Pitseus, was educated at Oxford, while Neale was professor of Hebrew there. Although it is most probable that he had no acquaintance with him, he must have known that he was an officer of the University, and, of course, in communion with the Established Church, and therefore that he was not the unflinching Romanist, which he represents him. Pits was a nephew of Sanders, whom it is, however, very probable that he never saw, and was, when he first left Oxford, and went to Doway, a protege of Stapleton. It is likely then, that he knew all about the Nag's-Head, which other Romanists knew; and he had been thirty-eight years a Romanist when the book was published, in which this passage occurs. The inference is, that if the story had been long known and believed, even among them,

he would not have introduced it so slightly under a *dicitur*. The facts of his life will be found in Wood, Vol. I. col. 405.

Our readers are now in possession of all the various passages, which Archbishop Kenrick has adduced, or to which he has alluded, as transmitting the testimony of Neale. But before we enter upon the obvious duty of collating them, we desire to make a remark or two upon the improbability of the story. We do not mean the improbability, or rather absurdity, of the Nag's-Head fiction itself, of which we have already spoken, but the improbability that the story, even if, for argument's sake, admitted to be true, should have been transmitted in the way pretended. This improbability arises from the character and position of Neale. He is always stated to have been a quiet, timid man. Not only is this the character given of him by all writers upon this subject, but the facts of his life shew it. Wood plainly intimates that he was not a sincere Protestant; and yet expressly states that he lived in the Communion of the Church of England. This shews, against the testimony of Pits, that he was not a man on whom the Romanists could rely. His wishes were, probably enough, with them; but he wanted courage to say so. As soon as Boner was in trouble, he deserted him, and sought a more efficient patron in Queen Elizabeth. And he did not seek in vain. The Nag's-Head story has no date; the only time ever fixed on for the transaction was, that it took place before the 9th of September, 1559. This is now shewn to have been impossible; since Stow expressly calls Parker Archbishop elect on that day, which is moreover the date of the undisputed commission for his consecration. Now, Neale was made Professor of Hebrew by Elizabeth in 1559; that fact our author says is certain, but he also says "there is nothing to shew that Neale was appointed to the Hebrew Professorship before the time assigned by the narrators of the Nag's-Head consecration, September, 1559."—*page* 224. It is not true that

the narrators assign any date for the transaction whatever. If we mistake not, the time before the 9th September was first conjectured by [illegible], in the last century. It is the only time ever assigned; and it has been proved to be an impossible time. Our author conjectures that it must have been soon after the date of the commission. A mixing up of a proceeding, confessedly irregular, with the regular and ordinary course of events, which is totally unauthorized. The truth is, no date has been assigned for the fictitious transaction of the Nag's-Head; because the transaction never occurred, and it would have been dangerous to fix a date, which might have furnished means of directly proving the falsehood of the story. Of course it is impossible to shew that Neale received his appointment before an event which never occurred, or before the period assigned for an event, for which no period was ever assigned. But it is not very material. The year 1559 was half gone, dating its beginning on the twenty-fifth of March, in September. The oath of supremacy had been refused by Boner in May, and the prudent Neale, who, according to our author, had a "wish to lead a tranquil retired life, when his principles were not compromised," and who did not consider his principles to be compromised by taking the oath of supremacy, no doubt was looking out for some snug place under the Crown. In these circumstances he certainly would not have endangered the tranquillity of his life, and compromised his principles, which seem to have been those of keeping on the strongest side, by acting as the spy or agent of Boner. Nor would Boner, who was no fool, have ever thought of him for his agent in a service certainly of some danger.

Then again, how far would it have been safe for a functionary of the University of Oxford, in those days, to have been visiting the prisoners of Wisbech, men who, by the fact of their being in that place, are shewn to have been suspected, if not known, to be enemies of the established order of things? Wood tells us that Neale was timid, and

that he finally withdrew from Oxford, under some suspicion of a want of attachment to the Reformation. Now, is it likely that a man of such a character, in such a position, would have exposed himself to danger, by going to visit the Queen's enemies at Wisbech, to gossip over old tales, and tell that, which if he were known to have mentioned, would, whether it were true or false, have put an end to the tranquillity of his life?

To proceed to our collation. There is a very suspicious development in these tales. Thus with respect to Neale; the earlier accounts, Holliwood and Fitzherbert, simply state that he was present, without stating why he was there. Holliwood states, that Boner sent his chaplain to threaten Llandaff with excommunication, but he does not say, that Neale was that chaplain; although, had he thought of it, it would have improved his story. Fitzherbert says nothing of any body having been sent to threaten Llandaff, who, according to him, was not there, and simply states that Neale was present. Fitzsimon was next in time; he thought that it would be better to assign some reason why Neale was there, and so he speaks of "Thomas Neale, an eye witness of the whole mock consecration, (which he came from Oxford to see.") "To see," the reader observes, not to prevent. Kellison makes Neale a mere eye witness, like the earlier narrators of the story. But Champney completes the symmetry of the fable, by uniting the two characters of messenger and witness, which are kept separate by Holliwood, in the person of Neale. Two years later Pits follows his account of the matter.

There is a similar development in respect of the persons consecrated. Holliwood names nobody. Fitzherbert names Jewell, Sands, Scory, Horne, Grindall and others, making the important omission of Parker; a name which Neale would not have omitted, or Fitzherbert, or the prisoners of Wisbech, forgotten in that connexion, had the story been true and Parker one of the persons concerned. Fitz-

simons supplies this little defect, and, for the first time, names Parker; after Mason's book had come out and shewn the absurdity of commencing the series of consecrations, with any body else. Kellison again names nobody. Champney imitates his example.

But there are also direct contradictions between the witnesses for the story; although they all profess to have heard it from Neale. Holliwood, Champney and Pits, and Constable in Champney's version, say that Llandaff was present. Fitzherbert says distinctly that he was not, "seeing the bishop whom they expected came not to consecrate them." Kellison implies the same thing, for he speaks of their going to Scory, in consequence of the refusal of the fictitious Archbishop, without speaking of even an application to Llandaff. Constable, in his version, is silent, but seems to imply that Llandaff was not present. Fitzsimons implies Llandaff's absence, still more strongly than Kellison.

There are even contradictions in the important facts of the matter and form of the consecration, that is, of the gesture and words. Holliwood speaks expressly of imposition of hands, "*Scoreus monachus (post Herefordensis pseudo Episcopus) cæteris; ex cæteris quidam, Scoreo manus imponunt.*" There can be no mistake in the meaning of this, coming from a Romish priest. He meant to put the objection on the want of authority in the consecrator, and on the profane place and character of the ceremony, which destroyed all evidence of intention, and not at all on any defect in the matter of the consecration apart from those objections.—Fitzherbert omits any statement about either matter or form, but only says, "they dealt with Scory of Hereford to do it, who, when they were on their knees, caused him who was John Jewell to rise up Bishop of Salisbury." Fitzsimons improving upon this, quotes Junius as saying, that imposition of hands consisted in a friendly taking the candidate by the hand, and then, having penetrated Scory's secret thoughts, he tells us that he had this in his head, and taking

the candidates by the hand, told them to rise up Bishop of such a place. There cannot be a more direct contradiction than between Holliwood and Fitzsimons; unless we suppose, which is impossible, that Holliwood was a convert to the fancy of Junius; if indeed Junius had such a fancy. Champney, however, contrives to contradict them both about the matter; and Fitzsimons about the form. He says, "having the Bible in his hand, they all kneeling before him, he laid it upon every one of their heads or shoulders, saying, '*Take thou authority to preach the Word of* God *sincerely*;' and so they rose up bishops."

Now, all these stories came from one author, Neale, as their inventors would persuade us; and yet they contain four distinct contradictions, about matters which Neale, had the story been true, could not have helped knowing. First, about the motive of his being there; he certainly knew whether he had been sent by Boner to stop the transaction, according to Champney, or went of his own accord to gratify his own curiosity, according to Fitzsimons. Again, he must have known whether Llandaff was present, whom he is said to have been sent expressly to speak with, according to Holliwood, Champney and Pits, or absent, according to Fitzherbert, Fitzsimons and Kellison. So he must have known whether Scory put his hands upon the head of the candidates, according to Holliwood, or the Bible, according to Champney, or only took them by the hand, according to Fitzsimons. Lastly, he must have known whether Scory said to the candidates, rise up bishop of such a place, according to Fitzherbert and Fitzsimons, or "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely," according to Champney.

Archbishop Kenrick says, that to him these things "do not present the shadow of a contradiction."—*page* 224. Upon which we can only remark, that his mind must be strangely constituted. He does not, however, attempt to reconcile them, but expressly assigns that difficult task to

the reader. Upon one of them he does say; "Whence Neale came to be present on the occasion, it matters not; all agree that he was sent by Boner." Of course, if Neale were present it does not matter whence he came; but that is not the difficulty. He knew why he came there; and two inconsistent reasons are assigned as given by him.—This either proves him a liar, and unworthy of credit, or that he has not been truly reported. Either way, the Nag's-Head fabrication falls. The other remark, that all are agreed he was sent by Boner, is unfortunate. Champney and Pits are the only persons who say so; and Fitzsimons says the direct reverse. According to Fitzherbert and Kellison, Llandaff was not present, and Neale, therefore, could not have been sent by Boner with a message to him.

Our author says that we would "very properly laugh at any one who should object to the Lambeth consecration of Parker on such slight and unsubstantial grounds." We are sorry he has so bad an opinion of our sense of decorum, as to suppose that we would laugh at him; who has certainly objected to the Lambeth Register on grounds far more slight and unsubstantial. Moreover, the two cases are not at all alike. The facts detailed in the Lambeth Register are precisely those which we would expect to occur in the existing state of things. We may say, without offence to our author, who has not said that he believes it, that we should really have very little respect for the intellect of any man, who believed so improbable a story as that of the Nag's-Head, upon any evidence not vastly more convincing than any that has ever been adduced in its favor. Again, the Lambeth Register is a solemn record, in which no internal evidence against its genuineness has been pointed out, and which is so supported by its coincidences, with other records and registers, both bearing on the particular case, and on other matters recorded in the same book, as to render the supposition of forgery perfectly absurd. To doubt the facts stated in such a document, on account of mistakes

made in relating its contents, would certainly not increase our respect for any person. But the Nag's-Head fiction has no other basis to rest on, than these miserable tales about Neale; and if they contradict one another, as we have shewn that they do directly, and about the most important facts, the very foundation of the tale is gone. We suppose the Archbishop is familiar with the story of Susannah; which in his Church is regarded as Canonical Scripture. In this case the witnesses differ, not about the species of a tree, but about the most material facts of the case.

We desire also to mention another fact, which overthrows this whole story of Neale, and indeed the tale of the Nag's-Head transaction itself; it is that Boner knew nothing of the matter. We are obliged to Archbishop Kenrick for a reference to an important document, so much of which as bears on this case we give in a note. It contains the objections of Boner to Horne's title to the Bishopric of Winchester; it is written in a most virulent spirit, takes the most frivolous objections to Horne's episcopate, and yet says not one word of the Nag's-Head story. There can be no stronger proof that Boner had never heard of it. Could he have proved it, it would have afforded the highest gratification to the malice, which his document displays, and would have insured his acquittal from the charge brought against him. He says nothing about it.

"'Boner against all the proceedings of the Bishop, laid in his objections and exceptions in that and other courts. The rude draught whereof wrote with his own hands was as followeth, *verbatim.*

"'Objection laid in by Edmond Boner, clerk, against the Process, and all the doings, made either before Dr. Robert Horne, naming himself Bishop of Winchester, and against the unlawful certificate given by the same in the Queen's Bench; either before any other in the said Queen's Bench, or elsewhere within this realm, concerning the Premises, attempted [against] the said Edmond by virtue of the surmised statutes of *Anno primo Regni Elizabeth, or Anno quinto* of the same.

We come now to the last of the only two direct witnesses which, we were going to say, the Romanists have produced.

"'*First.* The said Edmond saith, protesting alway, that he intendeth nothing to say, attempt or do against the Queen's most excellent Majesty of this realm, in any wise by writing or otherwise, or her prerogative, laws, statutes or liberties, otherwise than may stand by good law, reason and conscience, that he, the said Edmond, hath not run into any penalty comprised in any of the two statutes of *Anno primo and Anno quinto* of the said Queen. For that especially both the said two statutes of *Anno primo and Anno quinto* of the said Queen be not of strength, force, or power, to condemn the said Edmond; both for that the same statutes ought to have had the consent of the LORD's temporal and spiritual, and also the consent of the Commons in that Parliament assembled; and also for that the said Edmond was not convented or called herein before a lawful bishop, or competent judge, such as might require any such oath enjoined in either of the said statutes; neither is the said Edmond in law or conscience bound in any wise to give the said oath, which hath not his due companions, *Judicium, justitiam et veritatem:* nor could be given by the said Edmond, but by the death and loss of his own soul, and the danger and loss of divers other men's souls, of whom he hath care and charge of.

"'*Item.* That the said Robert Horne not being lawful Bishop of Winchester, but an usurper, intruder and unlawful possessioner thereof, as well for that according to the laws of the Catholic Church, and the statutes and ordinances of this realm, the said Mr. Robert Horne was not elected, consecrated or provided as also according to the canons of the Catholic Church, he the said Robert Horne, came not to the same dignity, or was eligible to the same; but as a person infamed unworthy, and utterly unmeet for the same, did take upon him the said office most worthy to be repelled from the same.

"'*Item.* That the said Mr. Robert Horne conspiring with other schismatical bishops of this realm, did by sundry and unlawful means go about at sundry times to put the said Edmond, both in extreme and certain danger of his life, and also of losing all his living and goods.

"'*Item.* That the said Mr. Robert Horne, forgetting his own soul's health, and following the sensuality of his own mind, of late did make an unlawful, untrue and false certificate unto the Queen's Majesty's Bench, surmising the said Edmond, peremptorily and obstinately to

But, in fact, they only say that somebody heard those witnesses say, that, which if the witnesses had really said it, would

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have refused to give the said oath, required in the said statutes of *Anno primo and Anno quinto:* Whereas he the said Edmond so did not, but alleged that he was not bound to give the said oath for reasonable causes then and above also expressed.' "—*Strype Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Vol I. pp.* 379, 380.

This is the end of the "rude draught" which Boner wrote with his own hands. Strype then goes on to give us "other exceptions, which the aforesaid Boner made against the Bishop's proceedings with him in the court where he was indicted." These Strype gives upon the authority of a manuscript of Fox. They are seven in number. The first is a general objection to the summons: the second third and fourth go upon the ground that Boner was not bound to take the oath, because he could not conscientiously do so. The fifth, objects that the oath was not tendered nor alleged to be tendered in a public assembly; the seventh contains certain accusations against Horne of personal ill treatment of Boner. The sixth alone has any bearing on this controversy, and is as follows:

"'*Item.* That Dr. Horne is no lawful bishop, neither concerning the tendering of the said oath, nor other things aforesaid, nor exercise of other ecclesiastical office; for many causes, and especially for that, he, Dr. Horne, was not lawfully consecrated according to the laws and statutes of this realm. Especially of 25 Henry VIII. ch. 20. where in effect is required, that he that is to be consecrated, must among other things have one archbishop and two bishops; or else four bishops at the consecration. Which the said Dr. Horne had not.' "—*Ibid.* 380, 381.

Strype also gives us "a part of another of Boner's declarations in his own behalf." This consists of two items. The first relates to the making what Boner calls "the act," we suppose the memorandum or record, of the proceedings before Horne. The other we give as follows:

"'*Item.* That by the said premises it appears that I, the said Edmond, made no such precise, peremptory or obstinate refusal as is certified in this behalf. And therefore neither the certificate brought herein, nor the indictment proceeding thereupon, are to be credenced, nor taken for good and lawful, but clearly to be rejected and cast away. And the

have been direct testimony. This witness is a Mr. Faircloth, said to have been a Protestant, and to have kept a shop in Cheapside in 1559. His alleged testimony, is pretended to have come through the mouth of his son, a Romish priest, and, as it would seem, of some standing, to whom the elder Faircloth is said to have mentioned the supposed occurrence. The circumstances under which this story is said to have come out, are as follows: Fitzherbert, who mistranslated Holliwood so shockingly, expressed, how, is not very material, his surprise at the publication, by Mason, of the Registers, and a wish that he could be satisfied of their existence. This came to the ears of Archbishop Abbot, who thereupon caused four Romish priests to examine the Register in his presence, and that of six other bishops. One of these priests was Faircloth. The authentic statement of the transaction we shall produce presently. At this moment our business is exclusively with Mr. Faircloth's account, if it be his, of his father's testimony. This is contained, as Archbishop Kenrick tells us, in the postscript to a work called "The Nullity of the Protestant Clergy of England," which was published by one Talbot, a Jesuit, afterwards, according to our author, titular Archbishop of Dublin. Talbot's book was published, as we learn from an extract given us by Archbishop Kenrick, at page 217, just a century after the time of the alleged Nag's-Head consecration, that is, in 1659, forty-five years after the examination of the Register by Faircloth and his brethren, which took place on the 12th May, 1614. In the addenda, or postscript

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said Dr. Horne for his unlawful doings to be duly punished, and from the dignity of the Bishopric of Winchester, as an intruder, usurper, and unlawful possessioner, to be excluded and rejected, especially being a notorious lecher, advouturer, schismatic and heretic, and in no wise a lawful bishop; especially to exact any such oath or to make such certificate, as is before mentioned.' "—*Ibid.* p. 381-2.

to this work, occurs the following passage, which we copy from Archbishop Kenrick's second edition, pp. 221–2.

"'Since the finishing of the point, I have had occasion to find out some particulars. Mr. Abbot (Archbishop) of Canterbury showed to F. Faircloth (one of the priests who, in King James the First's reign, were permitted to see the Lambeth register) certain records. But Mr. Plowden, yet living, does depose, that he had it from Father Faircloth's own mouth, with whom he lived many years an intimate friend, this ensuing answer of Father Faircloth to Abbot. My Lord, said he, my father was a Protestant, and kept a shop in Cheapside, and assured me that he himself was present at Parker's, and the first Protestant bishops' consecration at the Nag's-Head in Cheapside, &c. This supposed, my Lord, I cannot but judge this is a forged register.'"

One thing is certain; if this account be true, we have no longer a timid Neale to deal with. Faircloth is a bold fellow, and will not hesitate to say what he thinks under any circumstances. Of course our readers conclude that he lost no time in publishing to the world the fact which he had learned from his father, and which no doubt had some agency in converting him from the errors in which he had, by that father, been brought up. But no; he never publishes a word of it. He wrote it, at least, to Fitzherbert, to be used in the controversy? That he and his fellows wrote an account of the transaction to Fitzherbert, is not denied. But it contains no account of this bold speech, or of the fact therein asserted. Champney, the next Romish writer, in point of time, speaks of the transaction, and admits that the priests saw the Register, and that they wrote to Fitzherbert. Of course he was in communication with him, and saw the letter, or could have seen it, and published it, had it contained any thing of this Faircloth story. But he puts the matter on quite another ground, raises quite another question about the Register, and gives no hint of Mr. Faircloth's bold assertion. Why was this? Clearly because the bold assertion was never made. Then, after half a century, when Faircloth was by the course of nature dead,

comes Talbot, and tells us this wonderful tale of Faircloth's boldness, and his father's knowledge, on the authority of a Mr. Plowden, who may or may not have existed. Now let us see what the truth of the matter was.

Our readers know, that Mason's book, about which so much is said, was published in English in 1613. He employed himself afterwards in translating it into Latin, with additions, but did not live to publish it in that shape. It was however published in 1625. A Mr. Lindsay translated it again into English, and that version was published in 1628. It is from a copy of the edition of 1628, that we have been permitted to make the following extract. It is from page 361.

"Truly that request is not unreasonable. And so it seemed to the most reverend Father in God, *George*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Who having read the passage in Fitzherbert, in order to give him satisfaction, was so condescending as forthwith to send for some of the Papists; namely, Mr. Collington, whom some people at that time called the Arch-Priest, Mr. Laithwaite and Mr. Faircloth, Jesuites, and Mr. Leake, a secular Priest; and don't you look upon these to have been *learned, discreet, and sincere Catholicks.* The most reverend Arch Bishop therefore, on the twelfth day of May, in the year 1614, in the presence of those famous Bishops, *John* of *London*, *William* of *Durham*, *Lancelot* of *Ely*, *James* of *Bath and Wells*, *Richard* of *Lincoln*, and *John* of *Rochester*, did produce Parker's Register, which I have so often referred to, and shewing it to the said four Papists, desired them to examine the same with the utmost nicety. They (as this right reverend Prelate expresseth it) *look'd upon the Book, handled it, turned it over, and perus'd it as much as they had a mind;* but especially they turn'd and read, over and over again, the consecration of *Parker* (which *Fitzherbert* was so earnestly desirous to know;) and having carefully and diligently *view'd and duly consider'd the book, the letter, matter*, and all other *formalities re-*

Viz: John Collington. Viz: Thomas Laithwaite, alias Scot.
Viz: Alexander Faircloth. Viz: Thomas Leake.
Bishop King. Bishop James.
Bishop Andrewes. Bishop Montague.
Bishop Neyle. Bishop Buckeridge.
Godwin de Præsul. Angl. in Matthew Parker, Arch. Cant. p. 219

quisite thereto, they at last did *give their judgment and testimony of the truth and validity of it:* confessing, That *it seemed to them to be a book beyond all exception.* And moreover being desired by the Archbishop to signify to *Fitzherbert* by their letters what they had seen with their eyes, they *promised to do so,* as Champney witnesseth.

Now, this was published in 1625, when three of the six bishops named were living. Bishop Andrewes, *clarum et venerabile nomen,* died September 25, 1626. Bishop Buckeridge, according to Wood, in 1631. Neyle outlived both many years, and died Archbishop of York, to which see he was translated in 1631. But the priests told a different story from the Bishops? We believe that they did, or others did for them. Let us see what it was. The following extract is from the same book, page 362.

"You say *they desired liberty to look into that book more freely and carefully, but met with a repulse.* That's a crafty and deceitful relation of the matter of fact! What they desired is either here concealed or covered at least under general words. They asked and desir'd not only to *have liberty to look into that book,* but that the same book, which is the only authentic instrument (as we use to call it) of such affairs, might be *taken along with them and trusted in their*

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[1] My author (that is Mason) having published his English edition of this book, made a present thereof to Merton College Library, with this note at the end of it written with his own hand, viz: "Whereas, Mr. Fitzherbert hath lately sent a book from Rome against the most reverend Bishop (Andrewes) of Ely, to which he hath annexed an appendix concerning the Records and Registers by me produced, desiring that some of their discreet Catholicks might view and consider whether they be true or counterfeit: Know, therefore that upon the 12 of the present May, an. 1614, his Grace of Canterbury sent for Mr. Colleton, the Arch-Priest; Leake, a secular Priest; as also a Jesuit called Laithwaite, &c., and shewed unto them the Register and other records of his predecessor Matthew Parker, which they perus'd over and over, and found that the said Parker was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel (and not at the Nag's Head in Cheapside,) by certain Bishops that had been ejected in Queen Marie's reign, &c."—*See Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. I.* 1691, *col.* 393.

[2] Champney de vocat, p. 527.

hands, and private studies. The Archbishop answer'd them frankly and candidly. That *they might come when they pleased to the adjoining repository, or house, where those original records are kept, and there they should have free liberty in the presence of the public keeper of the archives*, to look into and peruse, these and any other records of the Church; but that he had no power to remove the books themselves from that place, or to trust them into the possession and disposal of any private person however well affected.[†]

No one at that time, while Faircloth was living, thought of his bold speech; it was invented after his death by Talbot, who perhaps only knew of the transaction through Archbishop Bramhall's citing it as a proof of the genuineness of the Register. Talbot seized on it, and by this bold falsehood, attempted to turn it to his own account; just as in the next century some Romanists attempted to turn to their account, the fact of Queen Elizabeth's sending a lawyer to peruse the Register, which Archbishop Bramhall mentioned in the same chapter. In both cases the means were the same unblushing falsehoods.

Another account of this transaction, very similar to that which we have given from Mason, was published in 1616, by Bishop Godwin in his book "De Præsulibus Angliæ." After speaking of Parker's consecration, and in no measured terms of the impudence of those who denied it, he goes on to say; we translate his Latin:

"To err, to slip, to be deceived is human, but with a shameless front to asseverate what none but the most stupid can believe, not even he who asserts it, is the height as well of madness as of impudence. Away then with the saying of this Sinon, rather than son of Simon, (Fitzsimon) unless his lies savour too much of stupidity. That the

[†] The most reverend Archbishop (whose integrity can't be questioned) very well remembers to this day, that this was the answer he then gave to that request, and this he hath declared before credible witnesses.—*Mss. in margine.*

[‡] We have now in our possession a copy of the Latin edition of 1625, in which this passage occurs, at page 417, and that on our pages 254 and 255, on pages 415 and 416. Both are in the 18th chapter of the third book.

truth may be known to others, who have been reduced into error by this kind of men, if there should be any found of such dull nostril, as not at once to smell out the folly of such an absurd fiction. I exhort first that they should go to the Archiepiscopal archives, where it is lawful for every one to see the whole process, as we speak, of the canonical election and consecration (according to the rite appointed by Parliamentary authority in the reign of Edward VI,) as well of Parker, as of the other bishops of that time. If it should happen, that any have not leisure or facility for so doing, or do not wish to take the trouble, let them consult, if they please, Alexander Faircloth, and Thomas Laithwait, otherwise called Scot, Jesuits; John Colliton, after the death of Birkhead, archpriest, *pro tempore*, and Thomas Leake, priest. To these men last year, in the presence of the present Archbishop of Canterbury and of some other bishops, (London, Ely, Lincoln and Rochester,) the Register book of the same Parker was shewn, which book is most honorable, and kept with great care among the public monuments; this, they inspected, handled, turned over and read as much as they would, and having faith, as it seemed, in testimony so ample and above all exception, they, having seen, testified the truth of the matter, in letters written to Thomas Fitzherbert dwelling at Rome. These letters were delivered to Kellison, prefect of the English college at Douay, to be transmitted to Fitzherbert. The said Kellison received them, nor do I doubt that he performed his promise. By these, therefore, that is to say, Faircloth, Colliton, Leake, yea Kellison and Fitzherbert, and other professors of the Roman Catholic religion, if they have a hair of a good man about them, the truth of these things mentioned by me about Parker's consecration can be confirmed."—Translated from Godwin. *De Præsulibus Angliæ. Edit. folio, Cambridge*, 1743, *pages* 152, 153. *In the Edition of* 1616 *the same passage occurs at pp.* 219, 220.

A friend in New York has had the kindness to procure for us a transcript of this passage from the copy of the edition of 1616 of Godwin, *De Præsulibus* in the Library of the General Protestant Episcopal Seminary in that city. It is as follows: "Errare, labi, decepi, humanum est: sed fronte perfricta, asseverare, quæ nemo jam vel stupidissimus crediderit adeoque ne ipse quidem qui asseverarit, summæ est tam dementiæ quam impudentiæ. Apagesis igitur Sinonis potius filius quam Simonis dicende, nisi mendacia tua soliditate nimium sape-

Now, this statement was published to the world in 1616, and yet Faircloth never repeated in print the assertion; which Talbot would have us believe he so boldly made by word of mouth. Furthermore, we find Faircloth in direct communication with Kellison, in 1614. In 1616, Kellison published a book on the precise subject, mentioned the Nag's-Head figment, and rested it upon the idle tales of Neal, and Constable, and Stow, and said not one word of Faircloth. For our part, we consider that the only use, which can be made of this Faircloth story, is to shew that its inventor,

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rent ut aliis vero consulatur, per hujusmodi homines in errorem perductis, (si forte naris tam obesæ quisquam reperiatur ut figmenti tam absurdi vanitatem statim non olfaciat) hortor primum, ut Archiva adeant Archiepiscopalia, ubi nemini non licet videre, electionis canonicæ et consecrationis (secundem ritus authoritate Parliamentaria sub Edwardo Sexto constitutos) quam Parkero fam cæteris illorum temporum Episcopis impertitæ, totum (ut loquimur) processum. Hoc quibus ut non vacat, aut not libet, aut denique copia non est faciendi consulant (si placet) Alexandrum Fayrcloth et Thomam Laithwaith, (alias dictum Scot) Jesuitas; Joannem Colliton (post Birkheadi interitum) pro tempore Archipresbyterium et Thomam Leake sacerdotem. His nimirum jam ante annum, in præsentia Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis moderni necnon et Episcoporum aliquot aliorum (Londiniensis, Eliensis, Lincolnensis, et Roffensis) codex Registralis, ejusdem Parkeri ostensus sit (pulcherrimus ille quidem, et magna solicitudine inter publica monumenta asservatus) quem quantum libuit, spectarunt, contrectarunt, evolverunt, perlegerunt: et testimonio tam amplo omnique exceptione majori fidem (ut videbatur) habentes, quid viderint literis ad Thomam Fitzherbert, Romæ degentem perscriptis hujusce rei veritatem testati sunt. Quas literas Kellisono traditas (Collegii Anglicani, quod est Duaci Præfecto) ad Fitzherbertum perferendas, dictus Kellisonus in se recepit, neque dubito promissi fidem ab ea exolutam. Ab his, igitur (Fayrclotho, Laithwaito, Collitono, Leako imò et Kellisono, Fitzherberto et aliis Romano-Catholicæ religionis professoribus) harum verum [quas] à me de Parkeri referunter consecratione veritas si vel pilum boni viri habeant confirmabitur.—*Godwin De Præsulibus Angliæ. Edit.* 1616, *pp.* 219, 220.

Archbishop Talbot, is utterly unworthy of credit on this question, or any other in which the interests of his society or communion are concerned.

Having now disposed of the direct evidence of the Nag's-Head story, or rather of that which in the absence of any thing like direct evidence, we must of necessity treat as such, we come to the corroborating or collateral testimony. This is naturally divided into two classes, the assertions of Romanists, and the admissions of Protestants. Of the first class there are three—Boner, Darbyshire and Constable, with whom we shall consider the anomalous case of Stow, and to the whole class we may add a general statement of Talbot's about many unnamed people. Of the other class, there are two, Archbishop Bancroft and Bishop Morton.

The name of Boner is mentioned by our author, on page 222, in connexion with a story first told in 1654, near a century after Boner's death, in a book called a "Legacy to Protestants," that Archbishop Heath received a letter from him in the Marshalsea, "wherein he merely related the manner how these new bishops ordained one another at an inn, where they were met together." It seems, however, that this precious letter was not preserved, and the story is left to rest altogether on the credit of this Romish polemic, whose name is not known; but who had it from "a gentleman of known worth and credit," whose name is a secret; who had it from his father, "one of the Chief Justices of the realm;" who dined with Archbishop Heath that day. So the story has passed through three anonymous hands, who together kept it alive ninety-five years. Valuable testimony indeed! Such testimony may be produced for any thing. In the mean time, we have shewn that Boner, a very few years after the transaction, knew nothing of it whatever, or he would have produced it on occasion of his dispute with Horne.

The same paragraph contains another story, on the same authority, of Dr. Darbyshire, a nephew of Boner's, who told this same anonymous author, "as of his own know-

ledge, that the first Protestant prelates, like good fellows, had made themselves bishops at an inn, because they could not get true bishops to consecrate them." Now the reason assigned has been shewn to be a mere falsehood. But Darbyshire knew the fact of his own knowledge? Why did he not mention it to his uncle, when he was preparing for his trial? Simply because he never imagined it. Why did he not leave some record of his knowledge in writing? Simply because he had no such knowledge. Both these stories were got up by this miserable pamphleteer, to sell a few copies of his pamphlet, and delude a few poor ignorant souls into the Church of Rome. Either the tales are false, or Boner and Darbyshire were a couple of fools.

Constable is another Romish witness, and his manuscripts are referred to by two distinct authors, Champney and Kellison, who published about the same time, in 1616; but Champney does not mention Constable in the edition of 1616. When those manuscripts were written, or where they were kept, we have no means of knowing; but the two accounts given of them tally in the main, although there is some discrepancy.† But what were Constable's means of information? We are here in the dark. His testimony will be found in our author's book, at pages 221 and 223. But it appears on the face of his story, that he knew but little about the matter; for he states expressly that he did not know whether Barlow assisted Scory or not, and moreover, he states, that which has been proved a falsehood, that they did not intend to have employed Scory, because (see page 221,) they knew him only to be a titular bishop, "unlawfully made in King Edward's time," and, (see page 223,) "that they recurred to Scory, of whom before they had no thought." Now, the commission of the ninth September, proves, that it was always intended that Scory should be one of the consecrators, as well as Kitchin. After all, he says nothing of the Nag's-Head, nor of a tavern, but speaks of an ordination, to

† See ante page 238.

which he takes but one objection; that the ordainers were heretic priests, not bishops in his estimation, according to one account; according to the other, that Scory was only a titular bishop, unlawfully made, but still made, although not made according to Mr. Constable's notions of lawful. Besides the discrepancy, to which we have above alluded; Constable, according to Kellison, grounded his relation solely on the authority of Stow; according to Champney he rests it also upon the testimony of "Catholics of the most unquestionable integrity, who were eye-witnesses of the affair." We suspect the last circumstance to be an ornament of Champney's, for had it been in the manuscript, Kellison would never have omitted it. Moreover, if Constable had conversed with these "Catholic" eye-witnesses, he would have known whether the ceremony was performed by Scory alone, or by Scory and Barlow. Our author is at the pains to tell us, that Dodd says the manuscripts were old when Champney saw them. How did he know? Constable is made, by both authorities, to name Stow; and Champney also parades Stow as an independent authority. But like all their other witnesses, Stow is never mentioned during his life; he died in 1605, and his name is dragged into this controversy in 1616. It is agreed that he does not mention it in his writings; but it is not to be forgotten, that he does mention Grindall's regular consecration in his writings. His testimony rests altogether on his small talk, to unknown persons; Constable does not say, that Stow ever told him so. Stow was no eye-witness; but he had diligently enquired into a matter of which he was afraid to speak, except confidentially. Why did he enquire? It would have suited him better to be ignorant; he was afraid to have it known, that he had spoken of it; and those to whom he spoke were afraid to have it known, that they listened. The result is, that Stow's testimony is lost, if he ever gave any; which we do not believe that he did.

Dodd lived in the eighteenth century.

We are then told that Archbishop Peter Talbot, the Jesuit who fabricated the tale about Faircloth, says in the same book; "I have spoken with both Catholics and Protestants, that remember near fourscore years, and acknowledge that so long they have heard the Nag's-Head story related as an undoubted truth." Yet, forty-one years before, Stow's friends were afraid to have it known that they had heard of that, which had then been an acknowledged truth, and commonly spoken of forty years earlier. We can only say, that it is a wonderful story, and requires a better voucher than Archbishop Talbot.

Of the Protestant witnesses, the first, of whom we shall speak, is Archbishop Bancroft, of whom our author tells us the following tale, on pages 229, 230:

"In the year 1604, Holliwood, (Sacrobosco) published an answer made by Bishop Bancroft to Mr. Wm. Alabaster, who asked him, 'how Parker and his colleagues were consecrated bishops?' Bancroft replied: 'I hope that in case of necessity, a priest may ordain bishops.' 'The allusion,' says Holliwood, 'was evidently intended for Scory, the consecrator at the Nag's-Head. This book of Sacrobosco's was published during Bancroft's life; but not a word of denial or disclaimer ever proceeded from him.'"

This story of Bancroft is really a very small matter. The connexion of Bancroft's remark, about a priest making a bishop, with Scory, is only Holliwood's conjecture; if it be true, that Holliwood tells the story at all. We have had abundant proof that Archbishop Kenrick has not seen Holliwood, and only refers this story to him upon the authority of Talbot, who is not a trustworthy author. But let who will have made the conjecture, it is no more than a conjecture, and is inconsistent with the known facts, that Scory was consecrated a bishop by Cranmer, that his consecration is mentioned in Cranmer's register, that he was acknowledged as Bishop of Chichester, in the reign of Edward VI., that he has always been regarded as a bishop by Protestants. It is incredible, then, that Bancroft, in conversation with an enemy, should have spoken of him as only a

priest, and it is absurd to infer such an admission from a remark, which does not directly apply to Scory more than another. If a man believed the Nag's-Head tale to be true, as Holliwood either did or affected to do, of course he would refer the remark to Scory; but what evidence is there that Bancroft ever heard of the Nag's-Head fable? The conversation, if it ever took place, was manifestly longer than that reported, for the question and answer do not correspond. Had Bancroft said any thing more to the purpose of the Romanists, it would have been reported, and we may, therefore, safely infer that if we had the whole conversation, it would be, as it is now, very harmless.

Moreover, we find Champney, in 1616, asserting, as the ground of an argument, that Scory was not a mere priest, but had received that which the Protestants, of whom Bancroft was one, regarded as a consecration. This shews that the pretended admission of Bancroft, in the supposed conversation with Alabaster, is either untrue or nothing to the purpose.—*See Champney "On the Vocation of Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Ministers," &c., p.* 198, *ed.* 1616, *and our note ante, end of Essay III.*

But after all, there is some reason for believing it not true. Very little importance is to be given to the remark of our author and Talbot, that the story was published in Bancroft's lifetime, and not contradicted by him. He might very well have thought it not worthy of contradiction; but it is most probable he never heard of it. Holliwood's book was very little known in England for several years. It was designed for the foreign market. Mason seems to have known nothing of it, until his attention was called to it by Fitzherbert. Now, Bancroft died in 1610, before the Nag's-Head controversy raged at all in England. In 1604, just at the time Holliwood published this story, if he ever published it at all, Bancroft became Archbishop of Canterbury, and had been virtually so for some time previous, on account of Whitgift's infirmity. It is, therefore, most likely that he never

saw Holliwood's book, and never heard of Alabaster's story. It would be stronger ground, in fact, to rely on the non-denial of Alabaster, who died a clergyman of the Church of England, in 1646. But even this would be of no great force, for he seems to have been a dreamer. We doubt whether he ever saw Bancroft while the latter was Bishop of London, or while he was himself a Romanist. He left England, it would appear, in 1596, and there is no evidence that he returned there until he had become a Protestant again, which he certainly did not before 1607. Bancroft was consecrated Bishop of London in 1597, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1604.

Alabaster accompanied the Earl of Essex in the Cadiz voyage; this, according to Camden, was in 1596; in 1597 was what was called the Island voyage, when Essex did not land in Spain. Alabaster remained in Spain, and became a Romanist; in 1607 he published, at Antwerp, a strange book, called *Apparatus in Revelationem* CHRISTI. He was then still a Romanist, according to Rivet, who reproaches the Romanists with tolerating his strange doctrines, somewhat unjustly, for the book was condemned at Rome in 1610. Garasse, a Romish writer, says, that this was the reason that Alabaster returned to the Church of England. These facts we have collected from the Historical and Critical Dictionary of Bernard and others, before quoted, *sub voce Alabaster, Vol. I., pp.* 405, *et seq.*

The story about Bishop Morton, is, that in a debate in the House of Lords during the Long Parliament, he rested the right of the bishops to seats in that house, on the fact "that they had succession" from the last Catholic bishops, who, says he, by imposition of hands, ordained the first Protestant bishops at the Nag's-Head in Cheapside, as was notorious to all the world."—*page* 230. We do not think it necessary to add any thing to what we have said on this subject in our former Essays. But merely remind the reader, that those words do not support the Romish story of the Nag's-Head. They allege, as notorious to all the world, a

fact never heard of before or since, that the Marian bishops imposed hands on those named by Elizabeth. If this were true, the whole controversy would be at an end, whether it was at the Nag's-Head or any where else. If, on the other hand, we reject all the speech but the Nag's-Head, to make it support the Romish tale, then, there follows this absurdity, that Morton, who was certainly an able man, asserted as his title, the very fact which had been alleged to destroy his title, to wit, that he had no lawful orders. Besides, the whole story is inconsistent with the known fact, that the bishops were attacked in that Parliament, not as not having been consecrated, but as being popish and tyrannical. The whole story is so ridiculous, that it is not to be wondered at, that we rejected it with some indignation. The story is in itself utterly improbable; it is affirmed by Lord Audley, at least Archbishop Talbot says that it is; and it is denied by Bishop Morton, who had certainly the best right of the two to know. To this denial, the answer is, that Morton had become so old that he had forgotten what was done so many years ago. An absurd answer; for though old men forget recent events, they remember with great accuracy what occurred in their earlier years. The testimony being thus balanced, probabilities are fairly entitled to be considered, especially when, as in this case, they are so great as to require strong testimony to overbalance them. Our author here reminds us, that *le vrai n' est toujours pas le vrai semble;* which, in some sense, is true enough, but it is not, therefore, necessary to throw probability out of our estimate of the value of evidence. The maxim which he has quoted, is no rule by which men can properly act, or govern themselves; we must always expect to find truth looking like truth, and when we find her otherwise, we are justified in requiring strong evidence of her identity. Before leaving this subject, we will mention, that, in connexion with it, Archbishop Kenrick has taken the liberty of saying, at page 230, "I adduced in my

former work, without, however, placing any, much less my chief reliance on it, as *Mr. Evans has not hesitated to state* the relation of a circumstance connected with this singular history." The circumstance is this of Bishop Morton; and it is not the least singular part of the affair, that our author should have devoted several pages to a circumstance on which he did not place *any* reliance. We are glad, however, to hear that he now estimates the tale at its true value. It would, nevertheless, have been as well had he *hesitated*, before writing this sentence, long enough to have examined our Essay, in which he would not have found the assertion attributed to us.

Having discussed at some length the question before us, during which discussion, we treated Champney as the writer on whom our author chiefly relied, we came to speak of "attempts to support him," Champney, "by evidence of a date yet later than the publication of his tale." We then spoke very briefly of Pitzæus and Godwin, authorities of that description, and then, with reference still to the same class of authorities, said, "But his two great authorities are two Romish works, published in 1657 and 1659, a century after the fact, alleging two most extraordinary admissions by Protestant prelates." The two prelates are Bancroft and Morton. Our author's memory is not good enough, to justify him in insinuations of falsehood, without looking at the evidence.

The fourth ground on which we reject the Nag's-Head tale, is the total silence of contemporary authors. This is not, as in the case of the Lambeth Register, produced by asserting existing documents to be forged; but there is not any document pretended to have been published in the whole reign of Elizabeth, in which there is any allusion to this story. Our author himself distinctly admits, that "there is not any detailed account of the transaction extant earlier than that of Holliwood, who wrote in 1603, but we have most conclusive evidence that the alleged fact was related,

and extensively believed, before the appearance of his work."—*page* 211. This evidence, however, is contained, with a single exception, that of an author who says nothing about the Nag's-Head, in writings published after the death of Elizabeth, and after the publication of Holliwood's book. Of this class, he enumerates four Protestants, Godwin, Mason, Fuller and Heylin, and three Romanists, Kellison, Champney and Talbot, and by these witnesses he hopes to prove, that the Nag's-Head story was currently spoken of in Elizabeth's time, and, moreover, that three Romanists, Harding, Sanders and Parsons mentioned it in published books. In doing this, his chief assistance is derived from the guesses of the Protestant writers, their mistakes, or their credulity in believing and repeating the same false assertion made by some Romanist.

But this case, do what you will, is not strong enough. It must be excused, and it must be propped. At page 213, by way of excuse, he tells us that we "must remember what was the condition of the Catholics during that," Elizabeth's, "reign. Far from having the liberty of publishing, they were obliged to avoid, at the peril of their lives and liberties, even the external worship of their religion. Hence," he continues, "those Catholic writers, and they were many, who denied the consecration of the English bishops, were forced to publish their works on the continent of Europe, principally in the Low Countries; and every conceivable impediment was opposed to their introduction into England in the reign of Elizabeth." But why did they not publish the Nag's-Head story on the continent? There is no conceivable reason; but that it was not yet invented. When it was invented, it was published on the continent. Holliwood and Fitzsimons and Champney all published on the continent. Kellison lived at Douay, and no doubt published there. Fitzherbert lived abroad in Elizabeth's time, as well as in James' time. Why was it not published in

Also the first work in which it mentioned
He watched but at Rheims.

Elizabeth's time? Simply because it was not invented. This is the excuse, now comes the prop.

"I have shewn," says our author, page 214, "that from the year 1563 up to the time of the publication of Mason's book, the Protestant bishops were reproached with not having received consecration; and although this of itself does not prove the Nag's-Head story, it is conclusive against the supposed consecration at Lambeth; and is, as will be presently shewn, connected with the mock consecration at Cheapside." It is very strange, then, that the mock consecration is never mentioned; which our author has confessed. He is very candid in admitting, that, the reproaches of the Romish writers, do not prove of themselves the Nag's-Head story. The truth is, they disprove it; those who made those reproaches, would have told this story if they had heard of it, or so much as imagined it. What was the true character of their reproaches, we shall inquire at a proper time. For the present; we shall only say that it seems not very sound doctrine, that the assertions of a set of men, who knew nothing on the subject, and these reproaches were nothing more, should be conclusive against one of the best authenticated records in the world. We repeat, that the silence, on the subject of such a tale as the Nag's-Head story, of men who, on some ground or other, certainly did deny the validity of Anglican orders, is conclusive, that they did not know it. By the way, our author's excuse and prop scarcely agree together. They remind us of a professional joke of a man who borrowed his neighbour's kettle, and having spoiled it, and being sued for the damage, set up three defences; first, that the kettle was spoiled when he borrowed it, secondly, that he returned it whole, and lastly, that he never had it at all.

Our author's first attempt is to prove, that the Nag's-Head fiction was commonly known in England early in Elizabeth's reign, and his first witness is Fuller, who pub-

lished in 1655, nearly a century after the period of which he is writing. His words are, we copy from Archbishop Kenrick: "'Now though we are not to gratify our adversaries with any advantage against us, yet so confident is our innocence herein that I may acquaint the world with the small foundation, on which the whole *report* was *bottomed*. Every archbishop or bishop presents himself in Bow Church, accompanied thither with civilians, where any shall be heard who can make any legal exceptions against his election. A dinner was provided for them at the Nag's-Head, in Cheapside, as convenient for the vicinity thereof, and from this spark, hath all this fire been kindled; to admonish posterity not only to do no evil, but also, in this captious age to refrain from all appearance thereof.' This the Lord Chancellor Egerton affirmed to Bishop Williams." —*apud Kenrick, pp.* 211, 212. Lord Chancellor Egerton lived until 1616, when the Nag's-Head controversy had begun, and very likely said to Bishop Williams, that there was no better foundation for the story than the dinner. He probably knew that it was all utterly untrue. If, as is not unlikely, the Nag's-Head was the place at which these dinners were usually prepared, that fact may have been known to the fabricators of the story, and may have led to the fixing on that as the scene of the farce. But at all events, Fuller proves nothing of the tale having been known in Elizabeth's time.

The next witness is Heylin, whose work was first published in 1661, more than a century after Parker's consecration. Archbishop Kenrick gives an extract from Heylin's work, but on this occasion, for reasons which will presently appear, we prefer going to the fountain head. Heylin's account of the matter is in the following words:

"'But to proceed unto the consecration of the new archbishop, the first thing to be done after the passing the royal assent for ratifying of the election of the dean and chapter, was the confirming it in the Court

of Arches according to the usual form in that behalf; which being accordingly performed, the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the proctors and officers of the court, whose presence was required at this solemnity, were entertained at a dinner provided for them at the Nag's-Head tavern in Cheapside; for which although Parker paid the shot, yet shall the Church be called to an after-reckoning. Nothing remains to expedite the consecration but the royal mandate, which I find dated on the sixth of December, directed to Anthony Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, William Barlow, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord elect of Chichester, John Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, Lord elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, late Bishop of Exeter, John Hodgkins, Suffragan of Bedford, John ———, Suffragan of Thetford; and John Bale, Bishop of Ossory in the Realm of Ireland, requiring them or any four of them at the least to proceed unto the consecration of the Right Reverend Matthew Parker, lately elected to the Metropolitical See of Canterbury. The first and the two last either hindered by sickness, or by some other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service; which notwithstanding was performed by the other four on Sunday, the 17th of that month, according to the Ordinal of King Edward the VI. then newly printed for that purpose. The ceremony was performed in the Chapel at Lambeth House, the east end whereof was hanged with rich tapestry, and the floor covered with red cloth; the morning service was read by Pearson, the Archbishop's Chaplain, the sermon preached by Dr. Scory, Lord elect of Hereford, on those words of St. Peter, 'The elders which are among you I exhort,' &c., 1 Peter, v. 1. The letters patent for proceeding to the consecration publicly read by Dr. Vale, the act of consecration legally performed by the imposition of the hands of the said four bishops, according to the ancient canons and King Edward's Ordinal; and after all a plentiful dinner for the entertainment of the company which resorted thither; amongst whom Charles Howard (eldest son of William Lord Effingham, created afterwards Lord Admiral and Earl of Nottingham,) happened to be one; and after testified to the truth of all these particulars, when the reality and form of this consecration was called in question by some captious sticklers for the Church of Rome.

"For so it was that some sticklers for the Church of Rome having been told of the dinner which was made at the Nag's-Head tavern at such time as the election of the new Archbishop was confirmed in the Arches, raised a report that the Nag's-Head tavern was the place of

consecration. And this report was countenanced by another slander, causing it *to be noised abroad, and published in some seditious pamphlets, that the persons designed by the Queen for the several bishopricks being met at a tavern,* did then and there lay hands upon one another without form or order. The first calumny fathered upon one Neal, once Hebrew Reader in the University of Oxford, and chaplain unto Bishop Boner; which last relation were sufficient to discredit the whole tale, if there were no other evidence to disprove the same. *And yet the silence of* ALL *Popish writers concerning this Nag's-Head consecration during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, when it had been most material for them to have insisted upon it,* as much discrediteth the whole figment as the author of it. The latter published by Dr. Nicholas Slanders, (never more truly Dr. Slanders than in that particular) in his pestilent and seditious book entitled '*De Schismate Anglicano,*' whose frequent falsehoods make him no fit author to be built upon in any matter of importance. Yet on the credit of these two, but on the first especially, the tale of the Nag's-Head consecration being once taken up, was generally exposed to sale, as one of the most vendible commodities in the writings of some Romish priests and Jesuits; as Champney, Fitzsimmons, Parsons, Kellison, &c."—*Heylin's History of the Reformation, 3rd ed. London, folio,* 1674, *pp.* 293–4.

In Archbishop Kenrick's first edition, he cited this passage, but besides some omissions, of no consequence to the argument, he stopped at the word "order," the last word of the second sentence of the last paragraph. From this passage he proceeded to infer, "that the Nag's-Head, instead of being first published fifty years after the event, as Protestant writers maintain, was noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets soon after the fact occurred." *(See the passage in his first edition, page* 81, *and in his second, page* 203.*)* On this, we took occasion to remark: "The reader perceives that Heylin is produced to prove, that the Nag's-Head consecration, instead of being first published fifty years after the event, was noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets, *soon after the fact occurred.* He also perceives that the words we have itali-

cised are not in Heylin. But will it be believed that Heylin in a few lines gives a contradiction of them?"—*Essays, page* 76. We then gave the extract from Heylin as above.

The Archbishop is, of course, not much pleased with this passage, and complains that we had given our readers to understand, that he had cited Heylin as saying that the fact was noised abroad and published in some seditious pamphlets soon after it was said to have occurred. "This Heylin," he continues, "does not say, he says indeed the contrary; and I never quoted him as saying what was but my own inference from his words."—*Kenrick, 2nd Edit. page* 213.

Now it is difficult to find language, which is proper to be applied to an archbishop, and also proper to be applied to the last quotation. The reader sees, however, that we did not give our readers to understand that he had cited Heylin as saying any thing about "shortly after the fact." That our charge was, that he used these words, as appeared by his own quotation, which we gave at length, without the authority of Heylin. He gave them as his own inference, but connected with Heylin's language, which his readers must be supposed to have just read, in such a way as might have induced a careless reader to suppose that the whole sentence was a repetition of what he had just read in the quotation. But of this we took no notice, we only called the attention of our readers to the fact, that the important words were not in Heylin, referring, for that matter, to the quotation we had copied from the Archbishop's own book. We then proceeded to express our astonishment, that he should have drawn such an inference, in the teeth of the author's statement; which, as he now admits, is directly contrary to his inference, and that he should have stopped his quotation three or four lines before the commencement of the sentence, which contained the statement now admitted to be contrary to his inference.

The whole matter stands thus. An old writer states certain facts, not referring them to any particular period of time, and, after an interval of six or seven lines, states a fact inconsistent with their being referred to a particular period. A modern controversial writer, to whose argument it is all important to fix those facts to the very period with which the second statement of the old author shews that that author did not mean to connect them, cites the first passage in support of that argument, and takes no notice of the fact that the old author "says indeed the contrary." The two statements, in the old author, being separated by exactly forty words. An antagonist writer mentions this little arrangement; whereupon the first controversialist assumes a very pretty indignation, charges his antagonist with doing the very contrary of what he had really done, says that the inference was his own inference, and that "he still regards it as a perfectly legitimate one." Now if it is a legitimate inference from the whole of Heylin's statement, why did he not give the whole of that statement? If it is a legitimate inference from the whole, how is it that Heylin "says the contrary?" If it is a legitimate inference from the half of the statement, of what value is it, when it is contradicted by the other half? Finally; why, upon any hypothesis, did his quotation stop so critically?

Returning from this digression to our proper subject, which is an examination of the proofs which our author offers, that the Nag's-Head story "was related and extensively believed before the appearance of his," Holliwood's, "work." He has quoted two books, published, the one fifty-one, and the other fifty-seven, years after Holliwood's work. His first witness, Fuller, says nothing to the purpose. The force of the testimony of Heylin is reduced to an inference of our author's, drawn from some words of Heylin's, who did not say what the Archbishop inferred, but "says indeed the contrary;" we shall pass on to the next witness

That witness is no less a person than Mason himself; and our author cites three passages out of his book, to prove his proposition. The first is the title page. "Mason's work professes," says he, "in the title page to clear the English bishops and clergy from slanders and odious imputations of Bellarmine, Sanders, Bristow, Harding, Allen, Stapleton, Parsons, Kellison, Eudemon, Becanus, and other Romanists. What these slanders and imputations were, we learn from the work of Mason, who, far from denying the Nag's-Head consecration as a recent fiction, supplies the most positive evidence of the contrary."—*page* 214. He appears to wish his readers to believe, that Mason's work is devoted to the Nag's-Head tale, and that it refutes no "slanders and odious imputations," but those which relate to that most wicked fabrication. Whereas Mason mentions the tale but three times in his whole volume, once in the Appendix, and once in the passage which our author immediately proceeds to cite, and which we shall examine in due time. We shall also find an opportunity of speaking of the third place. The work of Mason is an examination of the whole subject of "Anglican Ordinations," in which he professes to treat; "Of the consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England; with their succession, jurisdiction and other things incident to their calling; and also of the ordination of Priests and Deacons, Five Books; wherein they are cleared from the slanders and odious imputations of Bellarmine, Sanders, Bristow, Harding, Allen, Stapleton, Parsons, Kellison, Eudemon, Becanus and other Romanists; and justified to contain nothing contrary to the Scriptures, Fathers, or approved examples of Primitive Antiquity." There are a good many more things here treated of, than the tale of the Nag's-Head. Mason had to answer the attacks upon the orders of his Church of every description, and he includes them all under the two classes of "slanders and odious imputations." He names ten Romanist writers, some of them of very great note. Now, our author has not said, and will not say, that

any one of the authors named, with the single exception of Kellison, has mentioned the Nag's-Head story in any work which is extant, or in any extract from any lost work preserved by quotation. Moreover, he has not said, and will not say, that Kellison mentioned it in any work published before 1608, four years after Holliwood's publication. Six of the ten have never been mentioned throughout the whole controversy as having spoken of the tale. Parsons, Sanders and Harding have. But Parsons, only because he was erroneously supposed to be the writer of the preface, to one of his books, which was, however, by Fitzherbert, and added to an edition published after the author's death, and just before Mason's publication; Harding, through mere mistake, and Sanders, through the false assertion of Kellison. So much for the title page.

We come now to the only one of the passages in which Mason really mentions the Nag's-Head story, which it has suited our author to cite. That what Archbishop Kenrick says upon this subject, may be the more clearly understood, we shall repeat the last sentence of our last quotation from him, as the first of that which we are about to make. "What those slanders and imputations were," says he, "we learn from the work of Mason, who, far from decrying the Nag's-Head consecration as a recent fiction, supplies the most positive evidence of the contrary. He shews very clearly, that before his writing the fact was very generally believed. 'This of the Nag's-Head,' says he, 'though it goe current at Rome, and be blazed for a truth, through the world, by men of your ranke.'" The Archbishop here stops his quotation from Mason, and the subject together, passing immediately to another passage of Mason, to which we shall follow him in due time. Let us now examine the passage before us. Orthodox, the Anglican disputant, having asked the Romanist, Philodox, what he could say against Parker? Philodox replies, "I would faine learn of you the place where he was consecrated. I have read that

Maximus was consecrated in the house of a minstrell, and it seemeth that Matthew Parker was consecrated in a tavern, for Dr. Kellison saith, that *he heard it credibly reported that some of your new superintendents were made bishops at the Nag's-Head in Cheapside. A fit church for such a consecration;* and it is most likely that Matthew Parker was one of them, because he was the first." Orthodox begins his reply by a somewhat parallel story of a deacon ordained in a stable by Pope John XII., with which we shall not occupy our time, and then goes on thus:

"But whereas ye may say that *Kellison heard this credibly reported*, I must tell you that you are very forward in spreading false reports against the Protestants. It is credibly reported at Rome, that we in England *have wrapped some papists in bears' skins, and baited them with dogs;* that we inclose dormice in basons, and lay them to the sides of the Catholics to eat out their bowels; that we bind them to mangers, and feed them with hay like horses. These are shining lies, fit carbuncles for the Pope's mitre. Neither do they repeat them only, but print them and paint and publish them with the Pope's privilege. They need a privilege which tell such glorious lies. This of the Nag's-Head, though it go current at Rome, and be blazed for truth through the world by men of your ranke, is cousin-german to the former, as appeareth by the records of the Archbishopric, which declare that he was consecrated in *capella infra manerium suum de Lambehith*, that is, 'in the chapel within his manor at Lambeth.' Thus you see the falsehood of this fable, which was devised to no other purpose but only to make our ministry and religion seem odious to all men. Is not this strange dealing, for men that make such great ostentation of sincerity and gravity? But for my own part, I do not marvel at it, your proceedings are but answerable to your doctrines. For you teach, '*That an officious lie is but a venial sin.*'" For this he cites, "*Bell. de amiss. grat. l.* 3. *c.* 8." Orthodox goes on, "And again, *That the Church of Rome is the holy Mother Church;* therefore to whom should kind offices rather be performed, than to the Church of Rome." And what office will she take more kindly than the discrediting of those whom she accounteth heretics? Therefore I do not wonder that you put it in practice. I fear nothing but that shortly it will grow with you to a point meritorious. Well, *the stripe of the rod maketh marks*

in the flesh, but the stripe of the tongue breaketh the bones. But let them remember, *That the tongue which lieth, slayeth the soul;* and that *all liars shall have their portion* [except they repent] *in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone."—Mason, "Of the Consecration of Bishops," &c., Lib.* 3, *ch.* 4, *pp.* 123–4, *Edition* 1613.

We have been, perhaps, more full than was necessary, in this extract from Mason, in order to give the whole context, and make our readers see, that nothing connected with Archbishop Kenrick's quotations could be kept back. The result is, that so far from Mason's shewing, "that before his writing, the fact was very generally believed," he treats it as a ridiculous lie, invented at Rome, and not believed any where else, that he does deny it, and treats it, as a recent fiction, which rests altogether on the authority of Kellison, and certainly does not, in this place, supply the slightest fragment of evidence to the contrary.

We pass, then, to the other passage cited by our author. He says, continuing from our last quotation, and still speaking of Mason. "He elsewhere alludes to it in a passage already given by me (p. 115) as a tradition." Now, in the passage given by our author at p. 115, he does not allude to the Nag's-Head tale at all. The passage is the conclusion of Mason's third book. At page 115, it is produced to throw a doubt upon the Lambeth record; speaking of that record, Archbishop Kenrick says, "Mason himself, in producing these records, found in necessary to anticipate the objection which he knew would be urged against them as heretofore unknown."—page 115. He then produces the passage to which he now refers for a quite different purpose. Let us turn to it in Mason.

In the place to which we have referred, we find that after the production of the records, Philodox says:

"These are domestical testimonies of your own, neither do I know whether they be true.

"Orth. The records alleged are of such high credit and reputation, that they cannot possibly be infringed. As for the main point whereupon all the rest dependeth, that is the consecration of Archbishop Parker, as it was solemnly performed in a great assembly, so it was published in print in his own time, when all things were in fresh memory. And though some of his spiteful and bitter enemies did then scornfully comment upon his life, yet the truth of this fact they never called in question.

"Philo. Surely (Orthodox) I cannot but marvel, if your extracts be true, how the contrary opinion was so commonly received in the English colleges at Rome and Rheims.

"Orthod. Truly (Philodox) that which a man wisheth, he is willing to believe, and the mind sophisticate with malice, is ready upon every light occasion to imagine the worst, yea and sometimes to blaze that for certain which hath neither show nor shadow of truth. Yet these vain surmises, you receive for oracles, and deliver one to another by the holy hand of tradition, wherein you glory as an unanswerable argument, so did your fellows at Framlingham; so did Hart in his conference with Dr. Rainolds; but when he had heard his answer, justifying our bishops by authentic records *he would needs have that* whole point left out of the conference, saying he would not press him with it, and confessed, he thought that no such thing could have been shewed; and that himself had been borne in hand otherwise. Now, (Philodox,) as he was deluded so were you; but as he received satisfaction so I hope will you."

To this last speech of Orthodox, is appended the following marginal note:

"Dr. Rainolds in his letter to Mr. Thomas Barker, of Monk Soham in Suffolk, the original whereof is in my hands, and the same Doctor, of godly memory, did sometime relate the same unto myself.—*Mason*, *pp.* 141, 142, *Ed.* 1613.

The last speeches respectively of Philodox and Orthodox constitute the extract on page 115, of the Archbishop's second edition. We have given the context, in order to shew that the passage has no relation to the Nag's-Head tale, which does not appear to have been in the writer's mind, and that the only part, either of the passage or of the

context, which we have supplied, which can possibly be applied to that tale, is the part of Orthodox's first speech, in which he asserts, speaking of Parker's true consecration, that "it was published in print in his own time, when all things were in fresh memory. And though some of his spiteful and bitter enemies did then scornfully comment upon his life, yet the truth of this fact was never denied." This can scarcely, we think, be regarded "the most conclusive evidence that the alleged fact," the Nag's-Head consecration, "was related and extensively believed before the appearance of his" (Sacrobosco's) "work."—*See Kenrick, p.* 211. Nor does it seem exactly to supply "the most positive evidence of the contrary," to the assertion that the Nag's-Head fable was "a recent fiction." We hope, however, that our author will not accuse us of charging him with citing it for that purpose. On the contrary, we disclaim any intention of charging him with citing it at all. But it was necessary as a context to illustrate what he actually did quote, and therefore we introduced it. It shews that Mason did not mean to speak of the Nag's-Head tale as a "tradition," in any respectable sense of that word. Indeed our author's reference to tradition was not fortunate, for all that Mason says about tradition is, as appears by the Archbishop's own quotation, that the Romanists "blaze that for certain which hath neither show nor shadow of truth. Yet these vain surmises you receive for oracles, and deliver one to another by the holy hand of tradition, wherein you glory as an unanswerable argument."—*Mason ubi supra et apud Kenrick, p.* 115. Now, Mason, no doubt, thought the Nag's-Head tale a tradition of this sort, and if our author still insists that he alluded to it in this place, as such a tradition, he is welcome to his opinion and to all the arguments he can make out of it.

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† As the course of our argument has brought us back to this passage of Mason, we will make a single remark on it, in the aspect for which

Before parting with Mason, we have a word or two to say. We have stated that he does mention the Nag's-Head

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it was first produced. Our author, in a foot note, speaks of the insufficiency of the proof that Rainolds succeeded in convincing Hart. We think that Rainolds' own letter and assertion are pretty strong proof, while we do not see the extreme improbability of Rainolds' acquiescence in Hart's request, which was, as we understand it, that he would leave the point out of the conference, because he, Hart, was convinced, and would not argue against the records. Rainolds must have been as unreasonable as his namesake, and, we believe, brother, whom Archbishop Kenrick somewhere uses as an authority, if he had not been satisfied. Mason has told this anecdote more fully in a subsequent edition.

"When John Hart, thirty years ago, denied our Orders, as you do now; the learned Rainolds, out of the Registers of Edmund Freak, by whom he was ordained a Priest, and out of Matthew Parker's Registers, by whom Freak was ordained Bishop, transcrib'd the consecrations, which when Hart saw, he presently confess'd, that he thought nothing of that nature could be produced; and therefore he agreed, that that whole argument should be eras'd and expung'd out of the Conference, that it might not be printed in it, being then to go the press.—This Rainolds told me. Moreover in his Epistle to that pious and learned man Thomas Barker, Rector of Soham in Suffolk, he signified the same in writing, because Barker was attack'd from the same quarter, by some popish prisoners in Framlington Castle; he consulted Rainolds by letter; whose letter, then sent into Suffolk, I have, it being given me by my friend Edward Barker, after his father's death. Another copy, written by Rainolds' own hand, is in the custody of my friend Henry Mason, (that learned Divine) formerly Domestic Chaplain to the Right Reverend Father John Bishop of London, of pious memory."—*Mason's Vindiciæ Anglicanæ, page* 414, *apud Williams. Succession of Protestant Bishops Asserted, pages* 116, 117, *Ed.* 1721.

The original of this passage reads thus in Mason, Lib. 3, Cap. 18, paragraph 13, page 414, Ed. 1621:

"Cum Johannes Hartus 30. ab hinc annis idem, quod tu nunc, in nos torqueret telum, doctissimus Rainoldus ex eisdem Registris Edmundi Freaki, à quo ipse ordinatus est presbyter, atque insuper Matthæi Can-

affair in three places. One only of them is cited by our author in this place, and that we have considered. Another he cites for another purpose, and it shall be considered when we come to it. The third, is in the Appendix, where, after having given the extracts of which we have spoken, from Fitzherbert's and Holliwood's, which he calls "certain scandalous books," and says that he received them "when this work had almost passed the press," he then says, "these imputations I found first in general, cunningly cast forth by Kellison, who, said *he heard it credibly reported*," *&c.*— "Whereupon," continues Mason, "because I would deal *candide* with my adversary, and propose his objection with most probability, I brought it against the first bishop consecrated in the Queen's time, that is Archbishop Parker, and cleared him from this reproach." Here is a clear assertion by Mason himself, that when he wrote the passages which have been produced to shew that the Nag's-Head tale was often spoken of in the reign of Elizabeth, he knew nothing of it, but from Kellison, whose book was then but five years old, and written after Elizabeth's death.

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tuari. qui Freako munus impendit episcopale, consecrationes transcripsit, quas ubi conspexit Hartus, illicò fassus est, putâsse se nihil tale ostendi potuisse; in his igitur acquiescens, totum illud argumentum, typis committeretur, ex colloquio, quod jam Prelo erat destinatum, erasit et expunxit. Hæc ipse Rainoldus mihi coràm narravit; quinetiam et suam ipsius epistolam ad pium & doctum virum Thomam Barkerum, ecclesiæ de Soham-monachorum apud Suffolcienses pastorem (qui, à Papistis Framlingamiæ Castello tunc inclusis eodem telo petitus, Rainoldum per literas consulüerat) conscriptam ostendit. Cujus autographon in Suffolciam transmissum apud me habeo, quod amicus meus Eduardus Barkerus, post patris sui obitum, mihi dono dedit. Aliud quoque eiusdem autographon (ipsius etiam Rainoldi manu exaratum) est apud amicum meum Henricum Masonum, eruditum inprimis Theologum, Reverendissimi Patris Iohannis Episcopi Londinensis, sanctæ memoriæ olim Capellanum domesticum."

We shall next turn, passing over for a moment another quotation from Mason, to another of our author's witnesses; this is no less a person than Archbishop Talbot, the author of "The Nullity of the Prelatic clergy of England," a book to which we have more than once referred. His testimony is to be found, in Archbishop Kenrick's book, page 217, in the following words:

"'It is now a century of years," says the author of 'The Nullity of the Prelatic clergy of England,' 'since the Nag's head story happened. It has *constantly* been related and credited by wise men, as a certain truth ever since the year 1559, (the year it was acted in:) it was never contradicted by any, until it was imagined by our adversaries that the new registers (Mason's) might contest with our ancient tradition, and make the Nag's head story seem improbable in the year 1613, of which no man doubted for the space of fifty-two years before. The Catholic bishops and doctors of Queen Mary's time were sober and wise men; they believed the story; and recounted it to Parsons, Fitzherbert, Dr. Kellison, Holliwood, Dr. Champney, Fitzsimons, etc. Parsons believed it. Fitzherbert, and the rest above named, gave so much credit to it, that they published it in print.'"

This is nothing more than a bold assertion, of a matter which the asserter could not know; and to support which he brings no shadow of evidence. It is true, it was never contradicted until Mason contradicted it; for it was never heard of in England before Kellison mentioned it, and that in a very slight and doubtful manner, and Mason, the next Protestant writer on the subject, contradicted him. Even this most unscrupulous writer does not venture to name any writer who had mentioned it before Holliwood in 1604. The Registers at which he sneers, have been shewn by the most conclusive evidence to be genuine; and so far from no man's having doubted the Nag'-Head fable for fifty years before Mason, there is not a shadow of evidence, that any body ever heard of it more than nine years before the publication of his book. The eulogy on those whom he is pleased to call "Catholic bishops and doctors" is immaterial, for it

cannot be shewn that any one of the persons meant, ever heard of the story. He then attempts to give new force to the tale, by recounting the names of all of those who had believed and published it, carefully including Parsons, who has never mentioned the subject. The whole authority then resolves itself in the assertion of a controversialist, who lived too late to know any thing of the matter; and who was the fabricator of the Faircloth falsehood.

The remaining witness produced by our author, would be worth all the rest, if he only spoke to the point, which however, he does not. It is the statute of 8th Elizabeth. To this important witness he has been so kind as to assign two interpreters, knowing that the witnesses's own language would not serve his turn, and then stands himself sub-interpreter, to them, lest they should mistake. The interpreters are Mason and Camden.

Archbishop Kenrick informs us, page 215, that Mason "himself supplies a clear proof that something like the Nag's-Head story gave rise to the act of 8th Eliz." It is just as well, in this place, and with reference as well to the passage from Mason, of which we are about to speak, as to other matters which are coming in their order, to say that what we are in present in search of is not "something like the Nag's-Head story," but the Nag's-Head story itself. Any thing short of that, tells against our author, for he who told something like the Nag's-Head story, would have told that story itself, had he known it; his silence therefore is, as far as it goes, evidence of the late invention of the story, which he was willing, but not able to tell. But we shall see that Mason supplies no proof whatever, that any thing even like the Nag's-Head story, gave rise to the act in question, but just as far as his testimony is worthy of credit, the exact contrary.

Philodox, in Mason's book, having reproached Orthodox, with the clause *supplentes*, of which the reader has heard so much, Orthodox answers, that the Queen inserted that

clause *ex majore cautela*, knowing that there wanted not malicious papists, which would pry into the state of the clergy, and observe the least imperfection that could be; whereupon to prevent their slanders and to stop the mouths of malice, that gracious Queen was not only careful that *every thing requisite* and material should be made and done as precisely as ever before, but also to the end that all men might be satisfied, that all doubt, scruple and ambiguity might be taken away and that there should not the least spot of suspicion cling to her clergy, it pleased her Majesty if peradventure quick sighted malice could find out any quirk or quiddity against them by colour of any canon or statute, graciously to dispense with it; which doth not argue any unsoundness in their consecrations, but the godly care and providence of that religious prince."

Philodox replies: "You used to find fault with the Pope's dispensations, and will you yourselves in an act of Parliament affirm that the Queen *dispensed with all causes or doubts any imperfection or disability*, and that in a matter of holy orders."

It is upon *part* of the rejoinder of Orthodox that our author relies; we shall give the *whole*. It is as follows: "The Pope taketh upon him to dispense with the law of God (as for example *that a brother may marry his brother's wife,)* so did not Queen Elizabeth, but only with trespasses against her own laws, not in essential points of ordination, but only in accidental, not in substance, but in circumstance. Neither did she give them leave to make any voluntary violation of the law, but only dispensed with *such omission as necessity itself*, should require, as may appear by the *said letters patent*. [And it pleased the Almighty so to dispose that all things were performed in most exquisite manner; yet the Papists (such was their hatred against the clergy) did blaze abroad the contrary; whereupon the high Court of Parliament assembled in the eighth year of that famous Queen, having deeply considered and pondered all things

pronounced that their speeches were *slanderous not grounded upon any just matter or cause.*] For GOD's name be blessed, all things were done honestlie and in order, even from her first coming to the crown."

The reader sees that in this whole conversation there is no mention of, or allusion to, the Nag's-Head story or even any thing like it, that the whole proceeds upon the supposition that Parker was consecrated under the authority of the commission of the sixth of December, and that the clause *supplentes*, in that commission is the direct subject before the speakers. He further sees, that the assertion that all things were done in most exquisite manner, means that things were so carefully done as to supersede any necessity for calling in the aid of the clause *supplentes*, which itself in the judgment of Mason, dispensed only with trespasses against human laws, "not in essential points of ordination, but only in accidental; not in substance but in circumstance." Consequently the slanderous speeches by which "the Papists did blaze abroad the contrary," must be referred not to the essential substance, but to the accidental circumstances of the consecration. This is Mason's account of the matter, which Archbishop Kenrick will of course deny to be true, but it is still Mason's account of the matter, and Mason is the witness whom he has cited. But the Archbishop has not found it convenient to give to his readers any part of this conversation, except so much of the last speech of Orthodox as we have put within brackets. He thus conceals the true drift of the passage which he cites, and furnishes it with a new one, by the bold assertion, that Mason supplies a clear proof that something like the Nags-Head story gave rise to the act of 8th Elizabeth. "The extract by itself has no apparent connexion with the Nag's-Head fiction; taken with its context, it clearly relates to a quite different matter; but by suppressing the context, and substituting for it the bold assertion, that it related to the Nag's-Head story, the unwary reader might be seduced into

the belief, that it did afford some evidence that somebody in the reign of Elizabeth had spoken of that monstrous fabrication.

The other interpreter, who is called upon to speak for the act of Parliament, is Camden. Our author, however, as in the case of Mason, prefers to interpret the interpreter. He says:

"Referring to the act of Parliament of 8th Elizabeth, (see p. 47,) Camden, in his annals of her reign, says: 'For the papists decried them (the bishops) as no bishops, probably because the unction, the ring, the crozier, and the blessings were omitted (in their consecration;) and as if they had not been properly consecrated by three bishops who could trace back their ordination to the apostolical authority received from CHRIST.' He then proceeds to state that, as appears by the registers, all had been done, as Mason says, 'in the most exquisite manner.'"—*Kenrick, pages* 216, 217.

As another instance of our author's skill in the art of selection, we place in juxta-position with this passage, a translation of what Camden said. It is as follows:

"In this Assembly of the Estates (besides other things for the benefit of the commonwealth) it was unanimously declared, '*The election, consecration, confirmation, and investiture of the Archbishops and Bishops of England* (which some had by way of calumniation called in question) *were lawful, and that the said Bishops were elected and consecrated rightly and according to the acts and statutes of the Realm.* And it was also enacted, *That, both they and those which were from thenceforth in like manner to be consecrated, were and should be deemed rightly and duly consecrate, any law and canon to the contrary whatever notwithstanding.* For the Papists depraved them as false and counterfeit bishops; peradventure for that the unction, the ring, the crozier staff, with the benediction, were not used, and as not being ordained by three bishops which could by a successive line refer their ordination to the Apostolic authority received from CHRIST. Which notwithstanding (as by the Registers appeareth) they might most truly have done, being consecrated with devout prayers, godly invocation of the HOLY SPIRIT, the imposition of three such bishops' hands, a sermon preached and the celebration of the LORD'S SUPPER.'"

—*The History of the renowned, &c., Elizabeth, by William Camden. The third Edition (of the Translation) London, Folio*, 1675. *Bk.* 1, *year* 1566, *page* 87.

The above translation is not ours, as the reader perceives, and it is defective in one particular of some importance. It states that the "Papists" depraved the bishops as not being true bishops, which could by a successive line refer their ordination to Apostolic authority received from CHRIST. A friend has transcribed for us the paragraph in the original, from the copy, we suppose the same which Archbishop Kenrick used, in the Philadelphia Library. The Latin is "*quasi a tribus Episcopis non essent rite ordinati qui suum ascendendo ordinationem ad Apostolicam authoritatem a* CHRISTO *acceptam referre possent.*" Literally, "as if they had not been RIGHTLY ordained by three bishops, who, by ascending, could refer their ordination to Apostolic authority received from CHRIST." It will be perceived that the word RITE, rightly, "properly" in Archbishop Kenrick's translation, escaped the notice of the translator from whom we copied. It shews that the objection, which Camden supposed to have been taken, was not to the fact, but to the legality of a formal consecration, and consequently that he knew of no allegation of a mock consecration. We shall give our friend's transcript just as we received it from him, only transferring a side note to the foot of the page.

(1.) *Title page.* Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha, autore Guil. Camdeno. Prima pars emendatior, altera nunc primum in lucem edita.

Lug. Batavorum.
Ex Officina Elzeviriana.
MDCXXV.

(2.) *Extract on p.* 103.

Running title of page: Pars I. Historiarum Elizab. Angliæ Reginæ. "In hoc Ordinum conventu (præter alia in usum Reipublicæ) MDLXVI. declaratum est unanimi omnium consensu, *Archiepiscoporum, & Episcoporum Angliæ electionem, consecrationem, confirmationem, & investituram (quæ nonnulli calumniando in quæstionem voca-*

rant) legitima esse, eosdemque, rite, & ex Actis, Statutisque regni, electos & consecratos fuisse. Sancitum etiam, & eos, & jam inde itidem consecrandos, recte & rite esse, & fore consecratos, quacunque Lege & Canone non obstante. Pontificii enim illis tanquam Pseudo-episcopis obtrectarunt, forsan eo quod unctio, annulus, pedum pastorale, cum benedictionibus non adhibita; & quasi à tribus Episcopis non essent rite ordinati, qui suam ascendendo ordinationem ad Apostolicam authoritatem à CHRISTO acceptam referre possent. Quod tamen, ut ex Regestis patet, verissime poterant, piis precationibus, devota Spiritus Sancti invocatione, manuum trium ejusmodi Episcoporum impositione, concione habita, & Eucharistia celebrata, consecrati."

It is sufficiently apparent, however, even from our author's own statement, that Camden said nothing about the Nag's-Head fable. He assigns several reasons on account of which the Romanists denied the newly consecrated bishops, but none of them come nearer the Nag's-Head tale, than the general denial that the bishops were consecrated. That they were denied to be consecrated, in the sense of *validly* consecrated, is not disputed; and there is enough in Camden to determine that to be the sense in which he understood that denial, and nothing to countenance the belief that it had any connexion with the Nag's-Head tale.

But as the statute is extant, it may perhaps be the wiser course to examine it, when we shall perhaps be as well able as either Mason or Camden to understand its language. The act has been published by us in the Appendix to our former series of Essays, pages 272–3-4, and by Archbishop Kenrick in his second edition, pages 47 to 50. The first paragraph is as follows:

"'Forasmuch as divers questions by overmuch boldness of speech and talk amongst many of the common sort of people being unlearned, hath lately grown upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops within this realm, whether the same were, and be duly and

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[1] Episcoporum ordinatio confirmatur.

orderly done according to the law or not, which is much tending to the slander of all the state of the clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm; Therefore, for the avoiding of such slanderous speech, and to the intent that every man that is willing to know the truth, may plainly understand that the same evil speech and talk is not grounded upon any just matter or cause, it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same Archbishops and Bishops to be duly and orderly done according to the laws of this realm, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed.'"—*Apud Kenrick, p.* 47.

It seems plain enough here, that the "overmuch boldness of speech and talk," and "the slanderous speech," and "the evil speech and talk" "not grounded upon any just matter or cause," are all the same thing and relate to the question, whether "the making and consecrating of Archbishops and bishops" "were and be duly and orderly done according to *law*" or not, and that the remedy which the wisdom of Parliament proposed to apply, was "to touch such authorities as do allow and approve the making and consecrating of the said archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done according to the *laws of this realm*, and thereupon further to provide for the more surety thereof, as hereafter shall be expressed." No doubt is intimated with respect to the validity or sufficiency of the consecration, but only a question whether it were *legally* done. The act then proceeds to recite the several laws which conferred power upon the crown in ecclesiastical matters, not mentioning the powers of the consecrating bishops. Having made that recital, it goes on thus:

"'Whereupon our said sovereign Lady, the Queen's most excellent Masjesty, hath by her supreme authority, at divers times sithence the beginning of her Majesty's Reign, caused divers and sundry grave and well learned men to be duly elected, made and consecrated Archbishops and Bishops of divers Archbishopricks and Bishopricks within this realm, and other Her Majesty's Dominions and Countries according to such order and form, with such ceremonies in and about their consecra-

tions as were allowed and set forth by the said Acts, Statutes and Orders annexed to the said book of Common Prayer before mentioned.'" —*Apud Kenrick, p.* 48.

Here the act recites a consecration, according to the "orders annexed to the Book of Common Prayer," which consecrations so recited, and none other, are those which the act confirms. The statute then recites the manner in which the Queen had executed the power vested in her by the statutes previously recited, and then passes to what are usually called the enacting clauses, which, in this instance are both enacting and declaratory. It first declares and enacts, that the act of first Elizabeth, "whereby the said Book of Common Prayer and the administration of Sacraments, with other Rites and Ceremonies, is authorized and allowed to be used, shall stand and remain good and perfect to all respects and purposes, and that such order and form for the consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, as was set forth in the time of the said late King Edward VI., and added to the Book of Common Prayer, and authorized by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of the said late King, shall stand and be in full force and effect, and shall from henceforth be used and observed in all places within this realm and other her Majesty's dominions."—*Apud Kenrick, p.* 49.

It is also clear, that the object of this clause was to remove a doubt, whether the Ordinal was in force. We know that our author formerly maintained that it was in force, and virtually that it was so clearly in force, that no body could doubt about it. But he is now driven to admit that most of the Romanist writers have asserted the contrary, and names only one, Le Quien; and mentions, without naming him, another who agrees with him in opinion. Be that as it may; it is very useless to reason from our own opinions, or those of others, that a question is incapable of doubt, to the impossibility of other men's doubting. At any rate, upon this occasion, it appears very plainly, that

the Parliament thought it safest to determine the question by statute, for such is the plain meaning of the passage which we have just quoted. We return to the act, the remainder of which is as follows:

"'And that all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons, in or about any Consecration, Confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the Queen's Majesties dominions or countries, by virtue of the Queen's Majesties Letters Patents or Commission sithence the beginning of her Majesties reign, be and shall be by authority of this present Parliament, declared, judged, and deemed at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes; any matter or thing that can, or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

"'And that all persons that have been, or shall be made, ordered or consecrated Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers of GOD's holy Word and Sacraments, or Deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Ministers should be consecrated, made and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Ministers and Deacons, and rightly made, ordered and consecrated; any statute, law, canon or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.'"—*Apud Kenrick, pp.* 49–50.

Now no proposition of law can be clearer, than that this last enactment applies only to such persons as were made, ordered, or consecrated, "after the form or order prescribed in said order and form, how Archbishops, Bishops, priests, ministers and deacons, should be consecrated, made, and ordered." Such persons, and such only, are entitled to avail themselves of the protection of the act; and a person consecrated in the manner, alleged in any of the Nag's-Head stories, would not be at all benefitted by the law. Whether, then, we regard the plain meaning of the recital, or the provisions of the enacting clause, it is equally clear that the Nag's-Head fable had nothing to do with the

origin of the act, and the only purpose for which our author alludes to it, in this place, is to use it as a proof of that ridiculous fabrication,

But in another part of his work, Archbishop Kenrick refers to "the penultimate clause of the act," that is, the first of the two paragraphs which compose our last quotation in small print, as a proof that "though the act in question did not, indeed profess to supply the want of consecration in express terms, but it did so indirectly, and in a manner calculated to silence all objections to any thing theretofore done in the matter."—*See Kenrick, pp.* 50, 51. And he goes on to say, a few lines afterwards, that this act was "a complete legal remedy for the consecrations it recognized." This is true; but then it recognized no consecrations but those according to the ordinal of Edward VI.

The clause to which our author refers, does not confirm any consecrations whatever, but only what had been done about either consecrations or confirmations "by virtue of the Queen's letters patents or commission." Now, no letters patent or commission authorizing the Nag's-Head consecration have ever been pretended. The Romanists have generally asserted that all the letters patents and commissions which have been produced are forgeries; our author receives the commission of the 9th September, and no other. But neither that, nor any other that has been produced, whether forged or not, would authorize the pretended transaction at the Nag's-Head. There are several theories about Parker's consecration. Our theory is, that he was consecrated according to the Ordinal of Edward VI.; such a consecration is clearly enough confirmed by the act under consideration. There are several Romish theories of the consecration at the Nag's-Head, but they all agree in this, that Scory was the only consecrator. Now, no letters patents or commissions authorising such a consecration exist or are confirmed by the clause to which our author has referred. There is one other theory which has sometimes been urged by Romanists; and

that is, that Parker had no consecration at all; in that case, nothing at all having been done, there could have been nothing under the authority of the Queen, which could have been confirmed by the act. Archbishop Kenrick will perhaps contend, that the words, "by virtue of the Queen's Majesties letters patents or commission," refer not to the acts done, but to the election. Even this, manifestly would not help the last theory of no consecration at all, nor could it help a Nag's-Head consecration, unless in the case of a person elected by virtue of the Queen's letters patent of *congè d'èlire*. This would put such persons to prove such elections and letters, and the same records, by which these could be proved, prove also consecration according to the Ordinal; if they are forged for one purpose, they are forged for the other. But there is no possibility that this can be the true construction; it might possibly be so, if there were no other word in the act than "letters patents," under which general term a *congè d'èlire* might be included. But nobody ever called a *congè d'èlire*, a commission.

The act is framed upon a regular plan. It recites, first, the fact that the Queen had caused archbishops and bishops to be elected and consecrated according to the ordinal authorised in the reign of Edward VI.; it then recites her letters patents, alluding to the clause *supplentes*, then draws the conclusion that "it is and may be very evident, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity or doubt, can or may justly be objected against the said elections, confirmations, or consecrations, or any material thing meet to be had or used about the same."—*Apud Kenrick, p.* 49. There cannot be a plainer declaration, that the framers of the act meant it to apply to regular consecrations. But it then proceeds to the enacting clauses, which, as we have already observed, are declaratory also, and which are three in number. The first deals with the Ordinal, declaring that it was in force, and enacting that it shall thenceforth be used. The second declares and enacts, that the letters patents and commis-

sions should be sufficient to authorise all the acts which had been done under them. The third ratifies all consecrations and ordinations which have been made according to the ordinal. Now this last would have been unnecessary, at least as far as consecrations were concerned, if the construction put by our author upon the preceding clause be the true one. If the second clause confirmed all consecrations, or mock consecrations whatever, then it was useless to confirm, in the third, consecrations under the ordinal only. Moreover, the act must receive an interpretation which will make it consistent with itself; now the interpretation given by our author to the second clause, makes it clash with the first, which declares that the ordinal shall stand in full force and effect. Now the ordinal expressly decrees that "to the intent these orders," bishops, priests and deacons, "should be continued and reverently used and esteemed within this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest nor Deacon) shall execute any of them except he be called, tried, examined and admitted, according to the form following."—*Cardwell. Two Prayer Books, page* 398.

And now, our author, having, as he supposes, by the aid of his own interpretation of the comments of Mason and Camden, brought this act into the Nag's-Head controversy, gravely asks: "But if all had been done so orderly, how account for the slanderous speech commemorated in the Preamble to the Act of Parliament?"—*page* 217. The question is almost absurd; for it appears from the preamble and the whole tenor of the act, that the "slanderous speech" did not relate to what was done, but to the legal authority for doing it. In the same spirit, he elsewhere says: "And yet this famous act failed in its intended effect of silencing the 'overmuch boldness of speech,' and 'the divers questions' which it commemorates in its preamble; and during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, as well as ever since, the Anglican hierarchy was reproached with the

equivocal character of its origin."—*(page 50.)* Archbishop Kenrick has probably been too much engaged in the duties and proper studies of the sacerdotal office, to have given much attention to English literature. Still, he may possibly recollect a few lines of Pope, which seem to us not inapplicable in this connexion.

> Who shames a scribbler? break one cobweb through
> He spins the slight self-pleasing thread anew;
> Destroy his fib, or sophistry, in vain;
> The creature's at his dirty work again,
> Throned in the centre of his thin designs
> Proud of a vast extent of flimsy lines.

We have now done with our author's attempt to persuade his readers, that the alleged fact was related and extensively believed before the appearance of Holliwood's book. Instead of producing, as he promised, the most conclusive evidence, he has only the bold assertion of Talbot, his own inference from Heylin, contrary to Heylin's direct statement, and some misconceptions about Mason, Camden, Fuller, and the act of Parliament. He however attempts to shew that some individual writers had mentioned the tale during Elizabeth's life. Now the straight forward way of proving this, would be to produce the passages in which they mentioned it, either from their own works, or from some intermediate writer who has quoted from them. He attempts neither of these things; for the plain reason, that no such passages exist, or ever have existed. Nor will the shift serve, to which he resorts in one case, that these writers may have mentioned the subject in some ephemeral pamphlet which has not come down to us. Because it is inconceivable that any pamphlet which existed, when the Nag's-Head controversy broke out in the reign of James I., would have been suffered to perish without all that it contained upon that subject, having been preserved by quotation. The individuals, whom our author undertakes to shew, had mentioned this story in the reign of Elizabeth,

or before the appearance of Holliwood's book, which are nearly equivalent expressions, are Sanders, Parsons and Harding.

Nicholas Sanders was, during a great part of Elizabeth's reign, one of the most prominent, able and unscrupulous of Romish controversialists. Towards the close of his life, he prepared the book, which our author calls his "History of the English Schism," and which he truly says, "is of all his works the one most generally known." In this work, Sanders collected every thing which he knew, or could imagine, which he thought likely to prejudice the cause of the Reformation. It contains statements now universally believed to be untrue, and none would think of using it as an authority upon any doubtful question of history. If such a man did not introduce into such a book the story of the Nag's-Head consecration, it is conclusive proof, that at the time he wrote the book the story was not invented. Now it is not pretended that the story is in this book. Archbishop Kenrick, in his first edition, says, and he repeats the words in his second, "It may not perhaps be found in his 'History of the English Schism,' which of all his works is the best known, but these testimonies render it probable that he mentioned it in some of his other numerous works." —*Kenrick* 2 *Ed. page* 214, 215. We venture to suggest, that "as Mason had denied the existence of any such passage more than two centuries ago," that time enough had elapsed, in which it might have been found. To this Archbishop Kenrick, in his second edition, replies: that Kellison "may have had some work of Sanders, some ephemeral pamphlet which has not come down to us, and in which the fact may have been mentioned." *page* 215. There are many reasons why this conjectural proof will not serve; for the present, one is abundantly sufficient. Kellison made his assertion that Sanders had mentioned the Nag's-Head tale in 1608. In 1613, Mason met it with a flat denial, in a book which certainly excited a good deal of

attention. In 1616, Kellison published another work on the subject of English orders, and told the Nag's-Head story at more length than before, but he did not venture to reiterate his assertion about Sanders. We must then confine ourselves to the real, exclusively of the conjectural, works of Sanders; for besides the general fact, to which we have already alluded, that no work that mentioned the Nag's-Head story could possibly have escaped quotation, Kellison, whose veracity was directly in issue, certainly knew in 1616, on what authority he had made the assertion in 1608, and would then have produced his voucher. That he did not, is pretty strong evidence that his only authority was a figment of his own imagination.

Moreover, there is a [illegible] that Kellison named the "History [illegible] Schism," which is not unfrequently, and always by [illegible] cited as "Sanders de Schismate." The passage in Mason is the only one in his book, besides those which we have already cited, in which he alludes to the Nag's-Head story. Philodox says: "If you had neither bishops of your own, nor procured any either from the Catholic Church, or from the Reformed Churches, or from the Greekish Church, then it is true which Dr. Kellison reporteth out of Sanders, *That they made one another bishops*." To this Orthodox replies: "Though Sanders in that book hath almost as many lies as lines, yet he hath not this loud lie; it is the invention of Kellison himself; you promise demonstrative reasons, and when your argument comes to the issue where all your strength should be, you bring nothing but slender surmises, flying reports and detestable lies: Do these go at Rome for demonstrations? But I will answer you with evidence of truth which may be justified by monuments of public record."—*Mason, Bk. III. ch.* 4, *pages* 127–8, *Edition* 1613. Mason speaks of some particular book, "that book," and has twice before cited "Sanders de Schismate" in the same page, and has mentioned no other book of Sanders.

passages which he has cited in that page, [illegible] page of Sanders' History, will [illegible] themselves.

Now what is the evidence which our author produces, to shew that Sanders had mentioned the Nag's-Head story? The first witness is Kellison, who, when his own veracity was directly and rudely impeached in the matter, did not even reiterate his assertion, when writing upon the very subject. The next witness is Heylin, or rather our author's inference from Heylin, which inference is in the teeth of Heylin, who, as our author admits, stated "the contrary," nevertheless, the inference is again brought up, at page 214, to prove that Sanders had mentioned the story. This it will by no means do, but we suppose Heylin's name is mentioned in that place, because he does, undoubtedly, in the passage which we have before given from him, state that the Nag's-Head story had been published by Dr. Nicholas Slanders (never more truly Dr. Slanders than in that particular) in his pestilent and seditious book, entitled "*De Schismate Anglicano.*" Now this is of no value, because the history is extant, and the passage is admitted not to be in that book. The third witness is Fuller, who says; we copy from the original edition of 1655: "Parker thus solemnly consecrated, proceeded with the assistance of the aforesaid bishops to the consecration of other grave divines, and not (as Sanders lewdly lies) that these newly elected bishops, out of good fellowship, mutually consecrated one another."—*Book IX. Anno Dom.* 1559, *page* 62. Our author states Fuller's testimony on page 214 a little differently, but not materially, and then, after a little digression, says, on page 215:

"Were Mason's denial a sufficient motive for denying that Sanders wrote thus, it is very strange that Fuller, who followed Mason on the same side, should have admitted the name of Sanders into his pages in connexion with this relation; by whom also Parsons is enumerated among the propagators of this 'odious calumny.' Fuller, or Kellison,

on whom Fuller is said to have relied in this instance, had much better opportunities of knowing what Sanders and Parsons wrote and said, than those who live now can have, of what they did not write or say."—*Kenrick, page* 215.

This is a very characteristic passage; in the first place, it has never been asserted that "Mason's denial" was "a sufficient motive for denying that Sanders wrote thus." "Mason's denial," derives its overwhelming force from the fact, that the assertion, the truth of which he denied, has never been reiterated, not even by Kellison, whom he distinctly charged with inventing the falsehood, and who published a work, in which the question came up again, three years after the publication of Mason's work. Then the strangeness that Fuller, "*who followed Mason on the same side*," should have been misled by Kellison. It is very artful to speak of Fuller as though he were a controversial writer on this question, but the truth is otherwise. Fuller's book is entitled, "The Church History of Brittain from the Birth of Jesus Christ, until the year MDCXLVIII." All that he says about the consecration of the bishops at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, is comprised in the space of five pages and a half, and all of Sanders, in connexion with the Nag's-Head tale in the parenthesis of four words which we have given above. It is not difficult to imagine that Fuller, a writer not eminent for accuracy, and not writing controversially, should have followed Kellison, although Mason had contradicted him, especially as he appears to have regarded the mention of the tale by Sanders as rather furnishing an imputation against him, than any evidence to the tale itself. Then, as to the opportunities which Kellison and Fuller had of knowing "what Sanders and Parsons wrote and said." It so happens that Kellison stands convicted of falsehood, and Fuller of mistake. Kellison by his own virtual admission, Fuller by the want of all testimony to sustain him; of which there would be abundance were he in the right.

Upon the whole, it is proved that Sanders did not leave any thing to shew that he had ever heard of the Nag's-Head story; by the facts that none of the early Romanists, but Kellison, have ever asserted that he did, and that Kellison, when his assertion was contradicted, did not venture to repeat it; by the fact that nothing of the sort has been shewn in any of his works; by the fact that no work of his would have escaped quotation, had it contained any mention of the story; and lastly, by the fact that if he had known the story at all, it would have been in his History, which is his last work, being posthumous. That work is extant, and we have a copy at our elbow, published at Rome in 1586. The first edition of the book, was published we believe in 1585. Sanders died, according to Archbishop Kenrick, in 1583, but according to Rishton, the editor of the edition of his *De Schismate* before us, in 1581. Now this work is not pretended to contain any such story as that of the Nag's-Head. It does, however, contain a passage inconsistent with that story. The following passage is extracted from the work of which we have been speaking:

"Cæterùm Episcopatus ac alias prælaturas Ecclesiasticas avidè & sine scrupulo captabant Calvinistæ, etiam tùm, cùm adhuc scirent veros Episcopos cum toto orbe communicantes, superesse, nec ulla vel causa vel potestate legitima exauthoratos, certòque cognoscerent tales Ecclesias, cathedras, ac officia nunquam fuisse ab aliis, nec pro aliis quàm Catholicis instituta; sed sic de istis ipsi cogitibant, quemadmodum de regnis dixit ille, ea semper esse occupantium. Elizabetha quidem ita hæc per literas patentes conferebat, ut tamen oportuerit eos quibus collata erant, à certis personis, ac ritu etiam certo, secundum leges regni ordinari.

Henricus Octavus radix peccati, cùm ab ecclesia & sede Apostolica regnum suum divisisset, decrevit, ne quisquàm electus in Episcopum, bullas Pontificias seu mandatum Apostolicum de consecratione requireret, sed Regium tantùm diploma adferret, secundum quod, à tribus Episcopis cum consensu Metropolitæ ordinatus, jubebatur lege comitiorum facta ad imitationem antiquorum canonum, esse verus Episcopus, nec alio modo ordinatum pro episcopo agnosci oportere: ceremoniam autem

& solennem unctionem more Ecclesiastico adhuc in consecratione illa adhiberi voluit, quam postea proficiens in pejus Edouardus Sextus sustulit, & pro ea Calvinicas aliquot deprecationes substituit, servata tamen semper priori, de numero præsentium Episcoporum qui manus ordinando imponerent, lege. Has leges novas sustulit Regina Maria. Elizabetha in integrum restituit ac renovavit, ut proindè oportuerit hos Reginales prælatos ita quoque ordinari, ut consentiente Metropolitano, duo vel tres Episcopi assistant ipsisque manus imponant.

"Sed hoc perridiculè accidit, ut cùm isti Superintendentes creandi essent, nec à Catholicis Episcopis impetrare potuerint, ut ipsis manus admoverent; nec inter se, aut tres duosve Episcopos, aut ullum omninò suæ perfidiæ Metropolitanum, ab aliis Episcopis priùs ordinatum haberent, cujus vel manu vel consensu consecrari possent; nec etiam ad vicinos Lutheranorum aut Calvinistarum Ecclesias conferre sese commodè possent, ut indè mutuas Episcopum (qui forte nec ibi erant) operas peterent: Instabant vehementer apud quendam Archiepiscopum Hibernum, (quem tùm Londini in vinculis habebant,) ut in hac illis necessitate succerreret, & libertate ei & præmiis propositis, si vellet istorum ordinationi præesse; sed vir bonus nullo modo adduci potuit, ut hæreticis sacras manus imponeret, vel alieno peccato communicaret. Atque: ita cùm omni legitima ordinatione destituti vulgò dicerentur, & ipsis legibus Anglicanis verè probarentur non esse Episcopi, brachium seculare invocare coacti sunt, ut laici magistratus confirmationem, in futuris comitiis acciperent, cujus authoritate, si quid minùs ritè nec ad præscriptum legum in priori inauguratione gestum esset aut omissum, ipsis condonaretur, idque postquam Episcopali officio & Cathedra absque ulla Episcopali consecratione aliquot annis jam functi fuissent. Hinc nomen illis impositum, ut *Parliamentarii Episcopi* dicerentur.

"Qualescunque fuerint, aut quomodocunque facti sunt isti pseudo-episcopi ex latrunculis vel leunculis evaserunt leones & lupi rapidissimi, & didicerunt capere prædam, in clerum ac populum dominari, eosque novis inauditisque modis dispoliare."—*Sanders de Schismate Anglican. lib. iii. pp.* 398, 399, 400, 401, *Editio Romæ*, 1586.

We subjoin a translation.

"For the rest, the Calvinists seized greedily and without scruple the bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical prelacies, even though they knew that the true bishops, in communion with the whole world, still survived, and had not been removed by any legitimate authority, or for any legitimate cause, and certainly knew that those churches, seats, and offices

were never instituted for others, or by others, than Catholics; but they thought of these things, as one said of kingdoms, that they always belong to the occupants. Elizabeth indeed conferred them by letters patents but so that it behoved those, to whom they were given, to be ordained by certain persons and a certain rite according to the laws of the kingdom.

"Henry the Eighth, the root of the evil, when he had separated his kingdom from the Apostolical see and church, decreed that no one elected a bishop should seek Papal bulls or an Apostolical mandate for consecration, but should bring a certain royal document, after which, being ordained by three bishops with the consent of the metropolitan, he was declared by a law of parliament, made in imitation of the ancient canons, to be a true bishop, nor ought one ordained in any other mode to be acknowledged for a bishop, but he would that the ceremony and solemn unction, after the ecclesiastical usage, should still be continued in such consecration, this, afterwards, Edward the Sixth, growing worse, took away, and substituted some Calvinistic prayers, always preserving, nevertheless, the former law concerning the number of bishops, who should impose hands in ordination. Queen Mary abolished these new laws; Elizabeth renewed them, and restored them in their integrity; but it behoved in like manner these queen-made prelates, to be so ordained, that with the consent of the metropolitan, two or three bishops should assist and impose hands upon them.

"But it fell out, most ridiculously, that when these superintendents were to be made, they could neither obtain from the catholic bishops that they would move their hands towards them, nor had they among themselves of their own falsehood, (i. e. heresy,) either two or three bishops, or any metropolitan at all, before consecrated by other bishops, by whose hands or consent they could be consecrated, nor could they even conveniently apply to the neighboring Lutheran or Calvinistic Churches that thence they might seek the friendly aid of bishops (which perhaps they had not there;) they were very pressing with a certain Irish Archbishop (whom then they had in London in chains) that he would help them in this their necessity, and liberty and rewards were set before him, if he would preside at their ordination: but the good man would by no means be induced to impose his holy hands upon heretics, or to become a partaker of other men's sins. And so when they were commonly said to be destitute of all lawful ordination and proved, by the laws of England themselves, to be no bishops, they were compelled to invoke the secular arm, and obtain, in a subsequent par-

liament, the confirmation of the lay-magistrate, by whose authority whatever was less properly done, or not according to the provisions of the laws, in the former inauguration, or was omitted, should be forgiven them and this after they had held the episcopal office and seat several years, without any episcopal consecration. Hence a name was applied to them and they were called Parliamentary bishops.

"However these things were, and in whatever manner these pseudo-bishops were made, they rapidly became wolves and lions, from whelps and cubs, and learned to seize the prey, to domineer over the clergy and people, and to despoil them in new and unheard of ways."

Nothing can be more clear than that the man who wrote this passage, had never heard of the Nag's-Head story. The falsehood about the Irish Archbishop, we have already exposed. It is also false, that the Reformed had not two or three bishops of their own opinions. But even Sanders does not say that they had not one. He seems to have thought, or, more probably, to have desired his readers to think, that Parker was ordained by a single bishop. He rests his objection on two facts, the want of a metropolitan, and the want of two or three bishops. He says, that the Anglican bishops were without any *legal* consecration, and that they enjoyed their seats without any episcopal consecration, meaning, as appears from the context, without any such consecration as made them *lawful* bishops. Concerning the actual fact of consecration, he says nothing, probably not choosing to report it falsely, for fear of exposure, nor truly, because it would not answer his purpose, which was to deprave the Anglican Church. Again, his account of the act of parliament of 8th Eliz. is very remote from the truth, as the reader will find by referring to what we have just said on the subject of that act. It is impossible to account for the silence of Sanders, on the subject of the Nag's-Head fable, in this place, in any other way but one of two. Either he had never heard of it, or he knew it to be so utterly false, that it could not be mentioned without exposure. We suppose the former, for he could not have been very timid in such matters, more than very scrupulous, who invented

Paragraph

and propagated the story of the Irish Archbishop, and published the perversions of the act of 8th Eliz. which are contained in the above passage. The attentive reader will observe, that the extract we have given has furnished material for many of the Romish arguments, but it gives no countenance to the Nag's-Head story, and this, in connexion with the surrounding circumstances, not only proves that Sanders never mentioned that story, but disproves the story, itself.

There remain two other writers, whom our author wishes to persuade his readers mentioned the Nag's-Head story during the reign of Elizabeth, that is, before the publication of Holliwood's book) Parsons and Harding. No sooner has he disposed of the case of Sanders, than he proceeds in the following manner:—"Fuller or Kellison, on whom Fuller is said to have relied in this instance, had much better opportunities of knowing what Sanders and Parsons wrote and said, than those who live now can have of what they did not write or say. This observation is also applicable to Harding, the first English Catholic divine who reproached the new prelates with their unepiscopal character."—(page 215). Whatever opportunities Kellison and Fuller may have had of knowing, what Harding said or wrote, one thing is certain, that neither of them has asserted that Harding has mentioned the Nag's-Head. Nor has Kellison made any such assertion with respect to Parsons; his assertion with respect to Sanders has been abundantly refuted. Our author goes on: "The words of Fuller," says he, "shew that long before Kellison and Holliwood, (Sacrobosco,) the Nag's-Head narrative was publicly declared by Parsons and Constable. 'But when one Jesuit had got this shameless lie of the Nags-Head, (I cannot say by the tail, but) by the ears, instantly Champney, Fitzsimmons, Parsons, Kellison and Constable, and all the whole kennel of them, bawle it out in their books to all posterity.'" There is a great want of coherence here between the assertion and the proof; what Fuller says is,—that after Holliwood, "one

Jesuit," had got the story by the ears, the others began to bawl it out. He says nothing from which it can be inferred, that any of these persons mentioned it before Holliwood. According to Archbishop Kenrick's own admissions, Champney published in 1615, Fitzsimmons in 1614, Kellison in 1608, and again in 1616, and Constable, not at all. Constable's book, if such a book ever existed, has never been published to this day. The only trace of it is to be found in the quotations of Kellison and Champney, according to whom, it was in manuscript in 1616. Fuller's mention of Constable, among the promulgators of the story is then a palpable mistake, all the other writers named were after Holliwood, who is himself not named, but spoken of as "one Jesuit." All the writers mentioned, are said to have written after him, and implied to have learned the story from him. If it were not so, it would be a fair inference, that all the writers named were of the same class, and that one writer of the Elizabethan period was not thrust into the company of several who wrote in the reign of James. But our author wishes his readers to believe, that Parsons died before the publication of Holliwood, and that therefore, if he mentioned it at all, he must have mentioned it before that event; but this is not true, Parsons lived, according to the same Fuller until the year 1610, six years after Holliwood's publication, when he died Rector of the English College at Rome, an office which he had held for twenty three years—*Fuller's Church History*, *Book ix.* § 2, *anno* 1569. It is therefore possible, that he might have mentioned the story, and not before Holliwood; although it is not true that he has mentioned it at all. It is remarkable, that Fuller does not name two of the persons who had actually promulgated the Nag's-Head story. One of these is Holliwood, the inventor, whom he describes, without naming him, as "one Jesuit," who had got the tale by the ears, and after whom he says, and truly, that the others reported it. The other, Fitzherbert, who, in 1613, published Parsons' book, called,

according to Mason, "A Discussion," and according to Archbishop Kenrick, page 211, note, "The Discussion of Barlow's Answer," in the Preface of which, says Mason, and our author, in the Supplement, he mentions this tale; the truth probably is, that he mentions it in both. Fuller, finding this mention of the story in a book with Parsons' name, carelessly supposed that what was really written by Fitzherbert after Parsons' death, was written by Parsons, and very naturally classes him with the other writers, who, as he says, repeated the tale after Holliwood. His carelessness is shewn by his mentioning Constable, as an independent author, whose very existence is only known through Kellison and Champney. How any thing Fuller has said could justify our author in saying, that his words showed that "long before Kellison and Holliwood the Nag's-Head narrative was publicly declared by Parsons and Constable," surpasses our comprehension. More especially as he knew, that Constable had never published at all, and that Fuller expressly said, that all whom he named published after "one Jesuit," that is, Holliwood.

The only other witness, upon whom our author relies to shew that Parsons had mentioned the subject, is Talbot, who says, in a passage which we have already quoted, (*ante page* 282,) that certain persons whom he calls "the Catholic bishops and doctors of Queen Mary's time," "recounted it," the Nags-Head story, "to Parsons, Fitzherbert, Dr. Kellison, Holliwood, Dr. Champney, Fitzsimmons, etc. Parsons believed it; Fitzherbert and the rest above named gave so much credit to it, as to publish it in print." Now to us it seems, that this excepts Parsons from among the publishers. Talbot only says, that he believed it; but that Fitzherbert and others not only believed, but published it. At most, Talbot only classes Parsons with the other persons, who, he says, had heard, believed and published the story; and they all published, by our author's own statement, after the death of Elizabeth.

There is another matter to which, as our author has alluded to it, although, to do him justice, he has not relied much upon it, we ought for a moment to advert. This is Mason's title page, on which Parsons is mentioned among the calumniators, whose "slanders and odious imputations" he intended to refute. But, as we have already mentioned, Mason's book is not a treatise on the Nag's-Head story, but includes all the questions which had been, in his time, raised about Anglican Ordinations. It cannot, therefore, be inferred from the mention of Parsons' name in the title page, that he had repeated that story; on the contrary, as Mason does not undertake, in the body of the book, to refute any such slander as coming from Parsons, while he does refute it as coming from Kellison, the book seems a commentary on the title page, which determines its meaning in a manner not easy to be mistaken.

The last of these specific Romish writers, whom Archbishop Kenrick wishes his readers to believe mentioned the Nag's-Head story, is Harding. He attaches so much importance to this, that he introduces it three times, at pages 88, 91 and 216. He does not attach too much importance to the fact, if it were only true. Harding was certainly among the earliest and most able of the Romish controversialists of Elizabeth's reign. He was strictly a contemporary of Parker, and one word from him about the Nag's-Head would be of more value than all the ridiculous tales which have been produced put together. But the misfortune is, that he never wrote that word; had he done so, it would never have been lost. Instead of the dead silence which prevailed on the subject before Holliwood invented the story, there would have been mention of it by every Romanist who took up a pen. Their silence is the most conclusive evidence that Harding said nothing on the subject; if he did, why is it not produced, either directly from his own works, or as preserved in a quotation by some subsequent writer? It cannot be done. The whole evidence

that he ever mentioned the Nag's-Head, is a careless expression of Bishop Godwin, writing long after Harding's death; which itself does not come near up to the Nag's-Head fable, and the value of which we shall examine presently.

Archbishop Kenrick informs us, page 94, that "Champney and Le Quien, writing apparently from the original works of Jewell and Harding, agree on the evasive character of Jewell's reply, and both sustain, at least, in substance, the account of it given in the first edition of this work." As to the controversy between Jewell and Harding, and the controversy between Archbishop Kenrick on one side, and Mr. Russell and ourselves on the other, about that controversy, and the value of the testimony of Champney and Le Quien in the case, these are all questions with which we have for the present nothing to do. They will come up in their own time. The shift which he adopted in the case of Sanders is not available; for we shall shew that it is not in a lost or unknown work, but in the controversy with Jewell, that Harding made the assertion, whatever it was, to which Godwin alludes. Now Champney and Le Quien had Harding's works, and apparently wrote from them. If Harding, then, had said any thing on the subject, why did they not produce it? There can be but one answer to this question. Harding is silent on the matter. Champney, who finally licked the ill-shaped cub of a fabrication into the shape in which succeeding writers have adopted it, would on no account have omitted so valuable a testimony as Harding's. Le Quien shewed his disposition too; for he actually relies on the same passage of Godwin, which Archbishop Kenrick quotes, to prove the fact of Harding's mentioning the Nag's-Head, when it would have suited his purpose much better, and have been quite as easy to have produced the original passage, had it existed. He tells us, "We have seen that Godwin places Harding first among those who circulated the statement of the Nag's-Head consecration."—

apud Kenrick, p. 95. This, by the way, is a direct untruth. But it is time to come to this passage of Godwin, a part of which, both in Latin and English, will be found in Archbishop Kenrick's second edition, page 216. We shall take the liberty of introducing something of the context from Godwin; but we shall take Archbishop Kenrick's translation as far as it goes, and then continue the context with our own.

"If you enquire about the place of this consecration, this was no other than the usual place, namely, the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, however such scape graces as Harding, Fitzsimmons and others, may say otherwise. Although Harding may possibly be excused, as he delivered (published) what none had yet denied, although he himself had never believed it. For what man of sound mind would put any faith in so improbable a calumny. But that after so many answers of Jewell, that bishop of happy memory, of Mason and others, any one should dare to bring again into controversy the process of this consecration, so clearly established on the faith of public documents, delivering and confirming the same, that any one not blind may plainly see the malignity of this gross lie, who can bear? Does the society of Jesuits produce such reverend fathers? It is human to err, to slip, to be deceived, but with hardened front to asseverate, what no one can be so stupid as to believe, not even he who asserts it, is the height as well of madness as of impudence."—*Translated from Godwin De Præsulibus Angliæ. Ed. folio. Cambridge,* 1743, *page* 152. *The same passage occurs in the edition of* 1616. *See footnote.*

Down to this point we follow our author's translation; here he stops, and we carry it on ourselves.

We are indebted to the same friend who supplied us with a transcript of the latter part of the same paragraph for our note at page 257, for the following copy from the edition of 1616 of Godwin.

"De loco si quæris hujus consecrationis, haud alius fuit quam consuetus, capella nimirum palatii Archiepiscopalis Lamethensis; utcunque diversa tradant impudentissimi rabulæ Hardingus, Fitzsimons, alii. Quamquam Hardingo, alioque fortassis, modo ignosci potest, quod, quæ nemo adhuc arguerit, tradiderit, sibi tametsi nunquam credita. Quis enim sanæ mentis tam ridiculæ et ab omni probilitate abhorenti

Our readers will observe that there is not one word here of the Nag's-Head. Our author and Le Quien infer, that Harding has said something about the place of Parker's consecration, alleging it to have been at some other place than Lambeth chapel. But Bishop Godwin is indignant at the denial of the consecration, not merely at the assigning a wrong place for it. At any rate, he evidently regards Harding as having made a false assertion about the consecration of Parker, which had been refuted by Jewell. Now, if we are to believe his testimony in one part, we must believe it all. If Harding mentioned the Nag's-Head tale, then Jewell refuted it. But our author will probably say, that Jewell did not refute what Harding said in their extant works. Very well, that is his opinion; but Bishop Godwin thought differently, and stated the matter according to his own convictions. If our author takes this line of argument, he must admit, as we believe to be true, that Godwin intended the assertions or denials, or whatever they were, made by Harding in his controversy with Jewell. If he relies on Godwin, as referring to a lost book of Harding's, then we rely on him as referring to a lost work of Jewell's, in which Harding was so effectually refuted, that no Romanist has ever ventured to quote him since, otherwise than at second hand from Godwin. This would be the greatest achievement that Jewell, or any one else, ever performed. The truth is, however, that this is only one of those inaccu-

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calumniæ fidem adhibuerit. Sed post tot responsiones, Jewelli (felicissimi memoriæ antistitis) Masoni et aliorum, hujusce consecrationis seriem enucleatè tradentium et publicarum tabularum fide confirmantium, et tam crassi mendacii malignitatem cæcus quivis si non intueri clare, at manibus possit palpare; ausus tamen fuerit quispiam eadem rursus in medium proferre, quis ferat? Anne tales reverendos patres producit societas Jesuitica? Errare, labi, decipi, humanum est: sed fronte perfricta asseverare quæ nemo jam vel stupidissimus crediderit, adeoque ne ipse quidem qui asseverarit summæ est tam dementiæ quam impudentiæ."—*Godwin. De Præsulibus Angliæ. Edit.* 1616, *pp.* 218, 219.

rate, careless expressions of a Protestant writer, which form the staple materials of the Romish controversialists on this subject. They are constantly endeavoring to prove, by inferences from such things, assertions, which, if they were true, would be found repeated over and over again in the writings of their predecessors, where in fact they do not occur, and would be thus proved by unquestionable evidence.

We have now gone over every particle of the evidence which Archbishop Kenrick has produced, as most conclusive, "that the alleged fact," to wit, the Nag's-Head falsehood, "was related and extensively believed before the appearance of his," Holliwood's, "work," *(see page 211.)* Having gone over it himself, he abates somewhat of the confidence with which he set out. For at page 217 he only says: "It cannot, surely, be said by any one who considers the import of the foregoing extracts from Mason, Godwin, Fuller and Heylin, to say nothing of the writer last quoted," Talbot, "that there is no vestige of the Nag's-Head story to be found during the reign of Queen Elizabeth." Now we differ so widely from him, as to say, that the very relying on such authors, most of whom were born after Elizabeth's death, and all of whom wrote the passages relied on many years after that event, and none of whom quoted any writer, who published during her life, is a very strong evidence that the whole story was unknown at the period to which he refers; and also that he has utterly failed to shew the slightest vestige of any such story before the publication of Holliwood, who must therefore be regarded as its fabricator.

We are now approaching the end of this wearisome discussion, about the wicked falsehood of the alleged transaction at the Nag's-Head. We have examined all that our author has said in his chapter on the subject, except the eight last pages, which he has filled with sundry matters, to which it is evident that he does not himself attach much

importance. Of these, some have fallen in with the plan which we have adopted, so that they have been directly examined, others have been incidentally discussed, some remain as they were stated in the first edition, and we are perfectly content to leave them still in the position in which our former Essays left them; and from which Archbishop Kenrick has not attempted to remove them. There still remain, however, one or two matters, upon which we desire to make some observations.

Of these, the most important is that which relates to the Puritans. It comes into this controversy in the following manner. Some former Protestant writers had urged against the Romanist fiction of the Nag's-Head ordination, the strong argument of "the silence of the Puritans in their disputes with the early English bishops."—*Kenrick, first edition, page* 100. To this, our author answered by stating that "The doctrine of the Anglican Church for fifty years after its establishment was, according to Bishop Burnet, that the King's commission sufficed to make a bishop, and that no external ceremony was absolutely necessary."—*Kenrick ubi supra.* This assertion is utterly without foundation in both its parts. Neither did the Church hold any such doctrine, nor did Bishop Burnet say that she did, or any thing like it. Our author, however, made this bold assertion, and followed it up by an inference, that "the point in dispute between them regarded rather the character of the Episcopal order, than the necessity of Episcopal consecration; about which," says he, "there was not, according to Burnet's observation, for fifty years after framing the Articles, any important difference between the Anglicans and Presbyterians."—*Kenrick*, 1 *Ed. pp.* 100, 101. This assertion, by the way, falls very short of the monstrous libel on the Church, contained in the preceding sentence, but it is not less untrue than that, as we have taken occasion to shew in our Essay on Probabilities.

In our former Essays we replied to all this, that we had "already shewn the falsehood of the assertion, as to the doctrine of the Church; and secondly, that in fact there was a controversy between the Puritans and the Anglicans, about the necessity of Episcopal consecration."—*Essays, p.* 89. In proof of this last assertion, we produced extracts from Hooker, stating distinctly what was the doctrine of the Church and of the Puritans on the subject, and referred, at page 90, to the cases of Whittingham and Travers, two distinguished Puritans, who were actually called in question for officiating without Episcopal Ordination.

In his second edition, our author takes no notice of our quotations from Hooker, or indeed of us, in relation to this matter, but quietly drops his monstrous allegation about the Church, and all reference to Burnet. He reiterates, however, his assertion about the character of the dispute between the Anglicans and the Puritans almost in the same words, only reducing his fifty years to many, page 126. This plea he supports in a footnote, the consideration of which, as it connects itself with other matters of some little interest, we shall reserve for a note at the end of this Essay. But in the text, he goes on to attempt shewing that the Puritans were not silent, and did in fact refer to the Nag's-Head story. In all the volumes which the Puritans wrote during the reign of Elizabeth, which were neither few nor very closely confined within the boundaries of truth or decency, he finds two sentences, which he thinks it worth his while to produce. The first of these is from the "Demonstration of Discipline," one of the notorious Martin Marprelate pamphlets, and he gives it to us "as quoted by Fitzsimmons."

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/ Heylin's "History of the Presbyterians," book VIII., page 284, at the place referred to by Archbishop Kenrick, says: "for now in the prosecution of the other part of their," the Puritans', "design, which was to make the bishops odious and contemptible in the eyes of their

From this conjunction of an unprincipled Puritan with an unprincipled Jesuit, some terrible attack on the Church must be expected. Marprelate said all the evil he could think of, and Fitzsimon at least did not soften it any. Yet it amounts only to this, "that the profane order of bishops now in England received its origin and progress in a corner, and not in a congregation."—*Kenrick, page* 227. Now considering the character of the pamphlet, and of its writer, and the object he had in view, nothing can be more clear than if he had ever heard of the Nag's-Head fable, he would have related it in this place. But there is no mention of it. Fitzsimon and Archbishop Kenrick desire their readers to believe on the strength of the word "origin," that Martin had some reference to the tale, but what will they do with the word "progress." The use of that word shews that nothing of the sort was in the writer's mind, and that the whole sentence is thrown out at random, without any other

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proselytes; four of the most seditious of the pack (that is to say Penrie, Throgmorton, Udal and Fenner,) lay their heads together. From which conjunction there proceeded such a swarm of pestiferous libels, that the like mischief (neither in nature nor in number) did never exercise the patience of a Christian state. The authors of them masked under the borrowed name of *Martin Marprelate;* which title they had taken on themselves, not without good cause, as may appear unto any which have looked into those particulars; that is to say, The Epistle to the Convocation House; the Epitome; *The Demonstration of Discipline;* The Supplication; Diotrephes; Martin's Minerals; Have you any Work for a Cooper; Penry's Epistles sent from Scotland; Thesis Martinianæ, or Martin Junior; The Protestation of Martin; Martin Senior; More Work for the Cooper; A Dialogue setting forth the tyrannical Dealing of the Bishops with GOD'S Children." It would seem that if the few lines which our author has copied from Fitzsimon are all that can be found in this library of libels, which countenances the tale of the Nag's-Head, that the case of the silence of the Puritans is pretty well made out. Had Martin known any thing of the Nag's-Head, we should have heard enough of it from him; he was in fact worthy to have invented it, and the only wonder is that he did not.

meaning than to vilify the bishops. If it have any meaning, it is connected with the Puritan notions about the publicity of ordinations, and refers to the general practice of consecrating bishops in Lambeth chapel, while the Puritans desired that every man should be ordained in the presence of the congregation, who were to constitute his charge.—

The other sentence is from a petition of the Commons to the Upper House of Parliament, in the year 1584, as we learn from Collier. It alleges nothing either in or out of the sentence which Archbishop Kenrick has copied, and which is this: "and lastly, that the ordination be publicly performed, and not in any private house or chapel."—*Kenrick, p.* 217. This alleges nothing, but implies a usage of ordaining with more privacy than the petitioners desired or approved. If it proves the Nag's-Head transaction, it proves a practice of ordaining in private houses continued down to 1584. This, every one knows is untrue. The sentence is undoubtedly connected with the Puritan notion, to which we have already alluded. At any rate, it implies no denial of the consecration of the Anglican bishops; which is the purpose for which our author needs its assistance. The very same article recognizes Episcopal Ordination, but prays that the bishops may be assisted by ministers, who shall testify their assent under their hands, and another article in the same petition appeals to the Ordinal of Edward VI.

On the same page, Archbishop Kenrick refers to the fact, stated on the Protestant side, that there was no necessity for such a transaction as has been pretended to have taken place at the Nag's-Head, because the bishops who actually consecrated Parker at Lambeth, and some other English Protestant bishops, were in existence; and if they had not, bishops might have been had from Ireland. In answer to this, he ventures to say: "It is admitted by all that the consecration of Parker was an affair of no small difficulty; it would have been of no difficulty whatever, were the facts supposed in this objection true," page 227. Now, the

Romanists, feeling the force of "this objection," have always pretended that there was a difficulty in Parker's consecration; but no Protestant has ever admitted it; and it would be utterly absurd to do so. Barlow, Hodgeskin, Coverdale and Scory all existed; and it was just as easy for them to consecrate Parker regularly at Lambeth chapel, as irregularly at a tavern. The question is about the fact of the consecration by these men; whether they had authority to consecrate is another question; but at present we are on the fact. The facts shew that there could have been no difficulty in obtaining a consecration by them, which is the very consecration alleged. As to the other alternative of the Irish bishops, we have disposed of that question, in our "Note on the Irish Episcopate."

It is lamentable to see a grave divine, a dignitary of his Church, reduced to the straits under which the Archbishop labors during the rest of this paragraph. He tells us, first, that we have reason to suppose that the Queen did not regard them as bishops. Well, did she value the consecration of one of them at the Nag's-Head more than that of all four at Lambeth? His supposition is, that the Queen, not being able to get any better consecration than that which these four men could give, determined to have none, and agreed to substitute a profane farce at a tavern. Whether these men could validly consecrate Parker or not, it is undeniable that they could go through the ceremony; in fact it is undeniable that they did. But our author would have us believe, that because they could not, in his opinion, give valid consecration, that it was impossible that they could go through the form of consecration. The effect of their doing so, is another question, which we shall encounter, without fear, at the proper time; but suppose us in the wrong on that question; how does that affect the question of the possibility of these men doing the act, which it is proved that they did? Yet we are required to believe that the

Queen was driven to accept of the Nag's-Head parody, because she could not get a consecration by other than four bishops, titular only, according to our author's notion, but still at least titular bishops, capable of giving the form of a consecration. Then he tells us, that Kitchin was the only bishop in England who had been consecrated according to the Roman Pontifical. Now in what sense is this true? There were all the deprived bishops who had been so consecrated. But he will say that they would not consecrate Parker. Very well, neither would Kitchin. Kitchin was the only bishop in England in possession of a see, and in that sense, and in that sense only, was the only bishop in England. Hodgeskin was consecrated by the Roman Pontifical, and so was Salisbury, and so, in fact, was Barlow.—Then he tells us, that "this might be shewn with respect to all here mentioned, as it has been shewn with respect to Barlow."—*page* 228. We think he has not shewn it with respect to Barlow; and he has not attempted to shew it, with respect to Hodgeskin. Then he says, that Barlow's Episcopal character is the only one which at all affects the question; what question? The question of the possibility of obtaining the fact of a consecration? That is the question now before us. As to Scory and Coverdale, nobody imagines that they were consecrated by the Roman Pontifical. But was it ever intended that Parker should be consecrated by that ritual? If it were not; where was the necessity of seeking for a consecrator who had? If the Roman ritual be necessary to transmit the Episcopal character, then a bishop consecrated by it, could not transmit that character without it. If the Episcopal character could be transmitted to Parker, by the Anglican Ordinal, it could have been transmitted to Scory and Coverdale.

In a footnote to the remarkable paragraph on which we have been commenting, he endeavours to shew, that "Queen Elizabeth seems to have made little or no account of these

supposed bishops." The proof is, that she was not crowned by them, but by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle. He chooses to establish this undeniable fact, upon the authority of Heylin, because that historian, who wrote about a hundred years afterwards, makes a wonder of it. Our author, after having taken a sentence or two from him, stops and says; "He then assigns some possible reasons for the Queen's preference, but brings nothing to prove that those motives influenced her choice."—*p.* 228, *note*. It was not, perhaps, convenient to let his readers see these "possible reasons," but they may be found in our former Essays, pp. 189, 190. But our author forgets, that his own is only a "possible reason," and that he "brings nothing to prove that" it "influenced her choice." Now, we think, Dr. Heylin's conjecture quite as much entitled to weight as Archbishop Kenrick's. The latter, however, requires us to reject Heylin's conjecture, for want of proof, and then to take his own, without proof of any, to prove the absurd proposition, that Queen Elizabeth thought so little of these bishops, that she preferred the irregular and profane action of one of them, to the regular and religious action of all four. As to her not choosing to be crowned by them, we shall mention one certain fact, which might have saved Dr. Heylin's wonder, and spoiled our author's argument. This is, that when Elizabeth was crowned the Romish religion was established by law in England. She was crowned on the fifteenth day of January, and the Parliament which abolished Romanism, as the state religion of England, did not meet until the 15th of the same month.

In the last page of his chapter on the Nag's-Head story, (233) our author adverts to several commissions, dated on the 27th September, 6th October and 9th October, in which the see of Canterbury is supposed to be vacant. "But this," says he, "is easily accounted for, even in the supposition that the Nag's-Head consecration took place in September,

as is generally believed, either by supposing that the inthronization, until which the see was not properly filled, did not immediately follow, or that the hole and corner character of the consecration caused the fact to be overlooked by the persons charged with the expedition of the commissions in question." This is a little too absurd. Is it possible that he intends us to suppose, that he believes that the Nag's-Head farce could ever have produced any legal effect? Where is the evidence of inthronization at any time, except in Parker's Register, which relates to the real consecration at Lambeth? Why do all the records shew that the See of Canterbury was considered vacant until December? How happens it, that the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury exercised jurisdiction over half the Sees of England until the 9th of December? How happens it, that after that date Parker exercised the jurisdiction? If he were consecrated in September, why was he so long in commencing the exercise of his jurisdiction?—Inthronization is not necessary to jurisdiction, as we have shewn from Burns and Van Espen, and our author himself. But above all, where is there one single document in which a consecration in September is recognized? Did Parker step into the temporalities and jurisdiction of his see, without the usual formalities, by virtue of a proceeding of such a "hole and corner character," as to escape the notice of every one? If he did not, where are the documents, the steps of the process? There are none; all those documents exist; but they all relate to the real consecration at Lambeth. For that reason, and for that reason only, he pronounces them forged; although they are connected with a body of documents, the forgery of all of which is an impossibility, which it would be ridiculous to believe. We are required to reject such documents, and to believe, without any contemporary evidence, that Parker was allowed to become Archbishop of Canterbury, without the usual for-

malities, by virtue of a ceremony which was unwarranted by any law, civil or ecclesiastical, and which the public functionaries, whose duty it was to prepare the documents, which were to entitle him to his temporalities, were not permitted to know. After this extraordinary draft on our credulity, he makes a conclusion, "a most lame and impotent conclusion," in the words of Dodd. The substance of which is, that whatever the Catholic, meaning Romanist, writers may have said about the Nag's-Head fabrication and the real consecration at Lambeth, can neither affect their reputation nor their cause. "Because they have offered so many plausible arguments for the asserting of the one, and the rejecting of the other, that the pains taken by the other party to disprove them, does sufficiently excuse them from the personal reflections of insincerity or calumny." It is new morality to us, that a party's taking pains to disprove plausible falsehoods, excuses those who framed them, from reflections for insincerity or calumny. We, on the contrary, have been taught, that the guilt of a calumniator is increased by the deliberation, the knowledge, and ability, which are required to frame plausible arguments to deceive those upon whom he designs to palm his fabrication, and to render it difficult for the accused to develop the truth. In one thing Mr. Dodd is right; he has hit upon exactly the proper epithet for the arguments of his party, they are "plausible," and nothing more. Johnson defines "plausible," "superficially pleasing or taking, specious," and "specious," as "not solidly right, striking at first view," these definitions taken together, exactly describe the character of the Romish arguments on these questions. They cannot be better described, than by the word "plausible." There is no one of their objections to Parker's consecration, or of their, so called, arguments in support of the Nag's-Head fiction, of which, taken in connexion with the replies which have been often given

given to it, we may not say, in the words of an old divine, "If they," the replies, "be well considered, they will convince any reasonable man, that how *plausible* soever this objection," or this argument, "looks at first sight, yet there is nothing in the world in it, but it is all mere cavil."

NOTE ON PURITANS IN PRESBYTERIAN ORDERS.

We have taken occasion to remark, that Archbishop Kenrick contended, in his first edition, for the proposition that there was no difference, during the reign of Elizabeth, between the Anglicans and the Puritans. The falsity of this proposition, we shewed in our former Essays, by several quotations from Hooker, and by adverting to the cases of two distinguished Puritans, Whittingham and Travers, who were, in the course of that reign, called in question for want of Episcopal orders. The Archbishop, passing by the quotations from Hooker, seizes on the other facts, and attempts to use them as proofs of his position. He joins with them some other matters, which we think ourselves justified in observing upon in this form. In entering upon this question, which is neither more nor less than whether the Church of England allowed any other than Episcopal orders, our attention is naturally drawn to the Ordinal which was exclusively used through the whole reign, which was, in the estimation of all, the law of the land from 1566, and in the opinion of many from 1559, and which was the undoubted law of the Church from 1562, when it was sanctioned by the adoption of the thirty-sixth article. This

seems to be the necessary starting point in any enquiry as to what the Church of England held on the subject. Whatever does not conform to the Ordinal, must be regarded as exceptional; one of those irregularities which are continually occurring, but from which the doctrine of the Church of England can no more be inferred, than the doctrine of the Church of Rome on the subject of the Pope can be inferred from the present condition of Pius IX.[a] Now the very first words of the Ordinal are as follows:

"It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders in the Church; Bishops, Priests and Deacons: which offices were evermore had in such reverent estimation, that no man of his own private authority, might presume to execute any of them, except he were first called, tried and examined, and known to have such qualities as were requisite for the same; and also by public prayer, with imposition of hands approved and admitted thereunto. And therefore to the intent that these orders should be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England, it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon,) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted, according to the form hereafter following."—*Cardwell's Two Books of Common Prayer," &c., page* 398. *Ed.* 1841.

This seems an abundantly explicit declaration of the mind and will of the Church on this subject; and it has never at any period been repealed, or in the slightest degree modified by any public act of the Church, and this fact must be taken along with us throughout the investigation upon which we are entering. Archbishop Kenrick, however, never mentions this undoubted law both of Church and State, and endeavors to substitute for it an act of Parliament, which he erroneously supposes to permit the occupying of benefices in the Church of England by those who had no Episcopal orders.

At page 51, he says: "An act was passed ratifying the thirty-nine articles, which had been framed by the Convo-

[a] This was written during the exile of the Pope.

cation of 1562; and one clause in that act admitted the validity of ordination by presbyters alone without a bishop. This clause was generally disliked by the bishops, and has been repeatedly condemned by their successors, but remains still unrepealed." This statement is made on the authority of one Hetherington, a Presbyterian, from whose "History of the Westminster Assembly," our author quotes the words which we have just transcribed. Our author has, upon this occasion, been misled by his Puritan ally, Hetherington, in two important particulars. The 13 Eliz. ch. 12, which he immediately informs us is the one referred to, was not passed to confirm the thirty-nine articles, nor does it contain one word about "ordination by presbyters alone without a bishop." But though Hetherington deceived the Archbishop in these particulars, he tells us something in the last sentence of the quotation which we have borrowed from Archbishop Kenrick, which is utterly irreconcilable with all the Archbishop's theories. The enactment recognising Presbyterian ordination, which Hetherington supposes to have been made by the lay Parliament; he also says, "was generally disliked by the bishops;" as doubtless it would have been had it ever passed. Archbishop Kenrick is therefore mistaken, if Hetherington, his own authority, be right, in supposing the English bishops indifferent to Episcopal ordination, which is the very fact that Hetherington and the act are brought forward to prove.

Our author next gives us a mutilated abstract of a part of the act, which we suppose that he has copied from Hetherington, although he does not say so, and appends to the extract a foot-note, in which, among other matters, he makes a quotation from a Mr. Lewis, a Romanist, who published a book on the royal supremacy in 1847, to the effect, that this statute "recognises *foreign* ordinations on condition of subscribing the doctrinal articles among the thirty-nine," and mentions the case of Whittingham, who died while his case was depending, and of Travers, who

was actually silenced, although he relied on this very statute, as instances of its application. But neither this quotation, for foreign orders might be Greek, or Romish, or Swedish, nor the abstract, of which we have spoken, although it is so mutilated as almost to amount to direct falsehood, come up to the length of recognising "ordinations by presbyters without a bishop." Moreover, the act says not one word about *foreign* orders either. The idea that this act was designed to sanction Presbyterian orders, was naturally a favorite one with the Puritans; but the act did not on its face warrant any such notion, and it has never been so interpreted by any competent authority. The only instance in which it is known to have been relied on, is that of Travers, who was silenced notwithstanding. As to its not being repealed, the clause, on which the Puritans relied, exhausted itself on Christmas day, 1570, and it therefore would have been absurd to repeal it.

The fact is, that the persons upon whom the law was designed to operate, were those who had been ordained by the Roman Pontifical. Of these, there must have been, in 1570, a very considerable number in the Church of England; for at the death of Queen Mary there were several thousand beneficed clergymen in England, of whom less than two hundred were deprived. The remainder, amounting to a large number, were chiefly, our author will maintain all, men who had been ordained by the Roman Pontifical, and a very considerable number of them must have remained alive in 1570. Parliament required some new assurance of their attachment to the Church; perhaps, because Pope Pius V, in the year 1569, had fulminated a bull against Queen Elizabeth, deposing and excommunicating her, and absolving all her subjects from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to her; as may be seen in Latin, in Sanders' book, *De Schismate Anglicano*, pp. 423 to 427. *Edit. Romæ*, 1586, and in English, in Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Vol. II. pp. 521–2. Edit. London, 1714. This had probably something

to do with this act, which enforces, although it does not ratify, the thirty-nine articles. The preamble is very short; only stating the object of the act to be, "That the Churches of the Queen's Majesty's dominions may be served with pastors of sound religion." Then follows the clause, of which our author has borrowed a mutilated extract from Hetherington. After the formal enacting clause, it goes on:

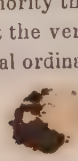
"That every person under the degree of a bishop which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration or ordaining, than the form set forth by Parliament in the time of the late King of most worthy memory, King Edward the Sixth, or now used in the reign of our most glorious Sovereign Lady, *before the Feast of the Nativity next following*, shall, in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some diocese, where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book.[b] * * * * And shall bring from such bishop or guardian of spiritualities, in writing under his seal authentic, a testimonial of such assent and subscription, and openly on some Sunday in the time of the public service aforenoon, in every church, where by reason of any ecclesiastical living he ought to attend, read both the said testimonial and the said articles, upon pain that every such person which shall not before the said Feast do as is above appointed, shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and all his ecclesiastical promotions shall be void, as if he were naturally dead."—*Stat.* 13 *Eliz. ch.* 12, § 1.

The reader sees that this law is so far from conferring a privilege upon any one, that it is penal, and requires a certain class of persons to do an act which other clergymen were not required to do, within a very short time, under pain of losing all their preferment. It extends only to those, who were, at the passing the act, or should before Christmas day, 1570, be in possession of ecclesiastical livings, and it

[b] Here we omit the title of the Book of the Articles.

declares those livings vacant, unless they should do certain acts before that day. It says nothing about *foreign* ordination, or ordination by presbyters, without a bishop, but only speaks of the *form* of ordination. Now, the Ordinal recognized those who had been ordained bishops, priests or deacons before its adoption, as entitled to officiate, and, of course, to hold benefices in the Church of England. Here then were a class of persons, who might be legally in possession of benefices. Persons ordained by Presbyters, without a bishop, could not legally officiate, nor, of course, hold benefices in the Church of England. The statute must apply to those who might legally be in the situation which it contemplated, not to those who could not legally be in that situation, and who, if they were, could be removed without its aid, and might be removed in spite of its provisions. The statute does not repeal the Ordinal, or strengthen any man's title to his living, the only advantage which any one could have from a compliance with its provisions was, that he should not fall under its penalties. If he had no right to his living, the defect of his title being other than his non-compliance with the statute, the law might still take its course. The statute pretended to give him no right; it only left him what he had, upon condition that he complied with its provisions.

The third section relates to persons to be admitted to benefices after the making of the act; it provides, among other things, that every such person shall be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a deacon, and that he shall "be admitted to minister the Sacraments within one year after his induction, if he is not so admitted before. Now he could be admitted by no other form, than that set out in the reign of Edward VI., and consequently by no other authority than a bishop. Nothing can be clearer then, than that the very act to which our author refers, required Episcopal ordination in all cases of *future* admissions to benefices,



for the party must be at least a deacon; and he must be admitted to administer the Sacraments, that is, be ordained priest, within a year. The fourth section speaks as follows:

"No person now permitted by any dispensation or otherwise, shall retain any benefice with cure being under the age of twenty-one years, or not being a deacon at the least, or which shall not be admitted as is aforesaid within one year next after the making of this act, or within six months after he shall accomplish the age of four and twenty years, on pain that such his dispensation shall be merely void."

The act, then, provides that no man shall hold a benefice without being a deacon, which he could only legally be by Episcopal ordination, according to the Anglican Ordinal, unless he had been one before it was adopted; nor without becoming a priest within a year after the act, if he already held one, or after acquiring one, if he had none at the passing of the act, which he could only legally be made by a bishop using the Anglican Ordinal.

Having said what we desired upon the subject of this statute, we pass to the consideration of our author's note on page 226, which is only an abridgment, and not a fair one, of a note of Dr. Cardwell's, on pages 4 and 5, Vol. II. of his "Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England." Both begin with an assertion, that Archbishop Whitgift's Articles of Visitation in 1585, contain "one of the earliest declarations from authority against ordinations conferred by presbyters." It can only be in a very modified sense that this can be true, when the Ordinal itself contains so explicit a declaration against them, which was made by the Church in 1562, and again in 1572, and by the State at least as far back as 1566. Besides these declarations, the Stat. 13 Eliz. ch. 12, in 1570, is also a very plain declaration against them. It is to be presumed that Dr. Cardwell, by "declarations from authority," means declarations from such secondary, *quasi* executive, authority, as that from which the documents collected in his book generally emana-

ted. Now, of this Archbishop Kenrick can make no advantage; for the legislative declarations, which we have mentioned, were not the less in force; and they no more required to be strengthened by such *quasi* executive declarations, than an act of Congress requires the aid of a proclamation from the President. Archbishop Whitgift's article is not, in fact, any such declaration. It is only an inquiry; "whether doth he," the minister of your parish, "or any other take upon them to read lectures, or preach, being mere lay persons, or not ordered according to the laws of this realm, or not lawfully licensed." There is no mention of ordination by presbyters, except as Episcopal consecration was required by the laws of this realm. Undoubtedly the enquiry was designed to operate on persons so ordained, should any exist; but it made no special mention of them, and could only reach them, because their ordination was already unlawful.

Both notes, then, proceed to mention cases, in which clergymen, or persons calling themselves such, were permitted to officiate in the Church of England, without Episcopal ordination. The cases named are but three in number, and in two of the three proceedings were had against the parties, and there is no proof that the third party ever actually officiated. The three cases are those of Whittingham, Travers and Morrison.

William Whittingham was educated at Oxford in the time of Henry VIII., designing himself for what is now called the diplomatic line, for which he was much better fitted than for the Church. He did not take orders, but spent much time in travelling on the continent of Europe, where he probably learned those principles, which afterwards produced so much mischief, under the name of Puritanism. While in France he married a lady, who has been sometimes said to have been the sister of Calvin. Soon after he returned to England Edward VI. died, and Whittingham, in consequence, went again to the continent. He soon came to Frankfort,

where a body of English exiles had formed a congregation, under the pastoral care of John Knox, the famous Scot. Among the members of this congregation, were several eminent divines, of whom some were afterwards bishops. It notwithstanding soon fell into "troubles" and disputes, which, if we may believe the account generally ascribed to Whittingham, were creditable to nobody; but which seem to have had their origin in the vehement hostility of Knox and Whittingham to the English Prayer Book. In consequence of these difficulties, the Puritanical party left Frankfort, and went to Geneva, where they organised a congregation on the Presbyterian model, with Knox at its head. But that restless spirit soon leaving Geneva, Whittingham was chosen his successor. It has been sometimes supposed, that he was ordained by the Presbytery of Geneva; that seems to be a mistake, and it is not certain that he was ever ordained at all. He took upon himself, however, the ministerial office, and on the accession of Elizabeth returned to England; and, probably retaining an affection for his first profession, officiated as preacher to several diplomatic missions. Having thus come into connexion with the powerful family of the Dudleys, he obtained, by their influence, the rich deanery of Durham. These facts we have gathered chiefly from the sketch of his life in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

At Durham, he met with a congenial spirit in Bishop Pilkington, and he would probably have lived and died, undisturbed, but for Archbishop Sandys of York, one of the prelates named by Fitzsimon and Kellison, as having been among those whom, as they say, Scory consecrated at the Nag's-Head. The Archbishop held a Visitation of the Cathedral of Durham in 1576, and called for the Dean's letters of orders; but the right of the Archbishop to visit the Cathedral being denied, he had recourse to the Queen's authority, and procured a special commission to be directed to him, the Earl of Huntington, President of the North, and the

Dean of York. But the Earl and the Dean being favourers of the Puritans, and the Dean at variance with the Archbishop, they favoured Whittingham so much, that the Archbishop applied for and obtained a new commission, including the three old and some new commissioners. This second commission was dated May 14, 20 Eliz., 1578. But Whittingham still found friends, who favoured him by delays, and endeavoured to bring the Archbishop into difficulties at court. During these delays, the Archbishop wrote a letter to Lord Burleigh, which Strype has preserved. "Annals of the Reformation, &c., Vol. II. Book ii. Appendix No. 13, page 116. Edit. folio, London, 1725. It is dated 4th April, 1579. In it he says; "If his ministry, without authority of GOD or man, without law, order or example of any Church may be current, take heed of the sequel; who seeth not what is intended? GOD deliver his Church from it, I will never be guilty of it." This passage we cited in our former Essays, page 91, to shew, that "Sandys stood up to the question like a man of whose orders there could be no doubt; notwithstanding the very fair occasion to question the no orders received in Cheapside,[c] implied in the whole proceeding."

Archbishop Kenrick, in a foot-note on page 51, being unable to answer this argument, sneers at the idea of Sandys calling on Whittingham to shew the authority of his ministry. He does not see, or affects not to see, that the incongruity at which he sneers, is implied in the argument, that it is on that very incongruity, upon the supposition that the Nag's-Head story was true, that the argument is founded, that neither Sandys nor Whittingham had ever heard of that monstrous fabrication. Had the story been true, Sandys would not have dared to pursue the course he did; nor would Whittingham have failed to discover, or to

[c] Sandys had called on Whittingham "to shew his orders, or rather no orders, received at Geneva."

use, the absurdity, which is the ground of the sneer. But to return to Whittingham.

Archbishop Kenrick, in his note on page 226, says that he shielded himself by the provisions of the statute of 13 Eliz. ch. 12, already referred to. But in this he is not warranted by his authority, Dr. Cardwell, who, in fact, says the direct reverse, for he tells us that Travers alleged in his favor "not only the theological elements of the question, (which seem to have been the only grounds taken in the case of Whittingham,) but also the protection which he had under the statute of 13 Eliz. ch. 12." In fact, Whittingham was well advised in not using the statute, which must have been fatal to his cause. Even if the first section had been found applicable to his case, and he had complied with its provisions, the fourth section, which prohibited any man who was not a deacon from retaining a benefice, and required deacons to be ordained priests, within a limited time, would have been fatal to him; who acknowledged himself to be neither deacon nor priest.

"He confesseth," says the Chancellor of York, in a document published by Strype, in the work which we have mentioned, Vol. II., Book ii. ch. 11, page 521, *et seq.*, "that he was neither deacon nor minister according to the order and law of this realm. But that he is a mere layman he denieth. For, saith he, I was ordained in Queen Mary's time at Geneva, according to the form there used. Which I think to be one in effect and substance with the form now used in England, or allowed of in King Edward's time. Which orders of mine were as agreeable to the law of this realm as any other, until the eighth year of the Queen's Majesties reign." So his defence rested on the notion, that the Ordinal was not revived in the first year of Elizabeth, and that there was no law on the subject, until the passage of the act of the eighth year of her reign. It is admitted, that his orders were at any time after the Ordinal was in force, utterly illegal; and thus, conceding that all that Archbishop Kenrick would de-

sire to prove by his case is unfounded, he rests his defence upon a theory which that writer earnestly repudiates.

He failed, however, in proving even His Genevese ordination; although he produced two certificates. The first only testified, "that it had pleased God by lot and election of the whole English congregation there orderly to choose W. W. to the office of preaching the Word of God and ministering the Sacraments."—*Strype ubi supra, and page* 522. This having been rejected, he produced, a month after, another certificate, that, "It pleased God by the suffrages of the whole congregation, orderly to choose Mr. W. W. unto the office of preaching the Word of God and ministering the Sacraments." Further, they say, "That he was admitted and so published with such other ceremonies as is there used and accustomed."—*Strype, page* 523.

Whittingham's great friend among the Commissioners was the Earl of Huntington, and the argument upon which he relied was neither legal nor theological, but simply one of expediency, "that it could not but be ill taken of all the godly learned, both at home and in all the Reformed Churches abroad; that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of the ministers made in a Reformed Church."—*Ibid, page* 524. The case never came to a final decision, having been much delayed; and Whittingham dying on the 10th June, 1579, the whole came to an end.

Walter Travers was ordained, as it was called, at Antwerp, on May 8th, 1578. He was afterwards appointed afternoon lecturer at the Temple, in which office he still was when the great Hooker became Master of the Temple, as the minister who has cure of souls there is called. Travers had been named for the Mastership before Hooker, by no less a person than Lord Burghleigh, but he was opposed by Archbishop Whitgift, among other reasons because he was "either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas not according to the form in this Church of England used," as appears in an extract of a

letter from Whitgift to the Queen, in Walton's "Life of Hooker," *(See Hooker's Works, Am. Ed. Vol. I. page* 73.*)* Mr. Keble in a note on Travers' "Supplication," Hooker's Works, Vol. II. page 331, Am. Ed., mentions a letter from Travers to Burleigh, in Strype's Whitgift, book iii., Appendix No. xii., from which it would appear that Burleigh had advised Travers to remove the objection by receiving Episcopal Ordination, and that he declined so doing.

Some months after this, Hooker preached a sermon on Sunday morning in the Temple Church, in which he asserted that a papist, nay a pope, might be saved. Travers undertook to refute this heresy, in the afternoon; this raised a storm against himself. Whitgift having silenced him, he gave in what he called a "Supplication to the Council," in which he undertook to defend his orders, upon the ground that orders in one country had always been regarded as good throughout the whole Church, in the opinion of the whole Catholic Church, forgetting that the opinion of the Church was equally universal, that bishops only could ordain. Having said as much as he thought proper upon this argument, he proceeds thus:

"Further, I have heard of those that are learned in the laws of this land, that by express statute to that purpose, anno 13 of her majesty's reign, upon subscription to the articles agreed upon, anno 1562, that they who pretend to have been ordered by another order than that which is now established, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of ministry within the land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by law in this established. Which comprehending manifestly all, even such as were made priests according to the order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the law of a Christian land, professing the Gospel, should be as favourable for a minister of the word, as for a popish priest; which also was so found in Mr. Whittingham's case, who, notwithstanding such replies against him, enjoyed still the benefit he had by his ministry, and might have done until this day, if God had spared him life so long; which if it be understood so, and practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right which the law giveth to all others?"—*Apud Hooker's Works, Am. Ed. Vol. II., page* 332.

But, notwithstanding all this, he was silenced.

The only other case mentioned is that of one "John Morrison, who had been ordained by the hands of Presbyters in Scotland," to whom Archbishop Grindal, in 1582, gave a license to officiate in the province of Canterbury. It does not appear that Morrison ever acted upon it. We have part of the license before us in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. Part II. Book VI. page 579, Edit. London, folio, 1714. In it, the Archbishop, or rather his Vicar General, who professes to act by his express command, although Grindal was then under suspension, recites Morrison's ordination, about five years before, by imposition of hands, he does not say of whose hands, but that it was according to the laudable form and rite of the Church of Scotland. He goes on to confirm and ratify the ordination "as much as in us lies and by law we can," *quantum in nobis est et de jure possumus, ac quatenus Jura Regni patiuntur.* Collier well remarks, that by these clauses, "it is pretty plain Aubrey," the Vicar General, "was somewhat conscious of a strain upon the English Constitution." In fact, it is quite manifest that the license was not worth a straw, and that Aubrey knew it.

Archbishop Kenrick then tells us, that Lord Bacon, in a pamphlet, intended to put an end to controversies, or at least to mitigate their violence, published in 1590, "blames the indiscretion of those who questioned foreign, i. e. Presbyterian orders." This proves two things, that Presbyterian orders were questioned, and that a young layman, of about thirty, thought it imprudent. He then informs us, that "instances of foreigners holding preferment, without Episcopal orders, may be given down to the middle of the seventeenth century. The 13 and 14 Charles II. rendered such ordinations indispensable for the future." For these facts he quotes Bancroft's sermon, which seems strange to those who happen to know that Bancroft died in 1610 or 1611; his real authority is the same note of Dr. Cardwell, which he has

been all along abridging, and in which Bancroft is cited for a quite different matter. The act of Uniformity in the reign of Charles II., to which he refers, contains two clauses bearing on this subject. The first relates to persons in possession of ecclesiastical livings, who were not "in Holy Orders by Episcopal Ordination;" of which the overthrow of the Church had produced many. This clause required them to be ordained priest or deacon, before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, on pain of being *ipso facto* deprived. The other clause applies to persons who were thereafter to be admitted to livings. It differs from the third section of the 13 Eliz. ch. 12, so often referred to, in this, that it requires that every person so admitted shall have been ordained priest according to the Anglican Ordinal, except he has "formerly been made priest by Episcopal ordination;" while the act of 13 Eliz. ch. 12, § 3, allows a deacon to be admitted to a benefice, and only obliges him to become a priest within a year after his admission. So that Archbishop Kenrick, or rather his authority, Dr. Cardwell, is mistaken in supposing that this act rendered Episcopal ordination any more indispensable to the holding of Ecclesiastical preferment than it was before. As to the cases of the foreigners, of whom Archbishop Kenrick and Dr. Cardwell speak, they must have been very few, and were most clearly violations of the law, both of the Church and State.

The Archbishop does not close his note, without a little unfairness; immediately after the mention of the middle of the seventeenth century, he quotes Dr. Cardwell as saying, "up to this period it had been usual to consider bishops and priests as of the same order." He thus leads his reader to suppose, that Dr. Cardwell meant to say that up to the reign of Charles II. it had been usual to consider bishops and priests as of the same order. Dr. Cardwell was referring to the year 1585, as will appear when our readers see what he really said, "up to this period," says he, "it had been

usual to consider bishops and priests as of the same order; but Dr. Bancroft, in the well known sermon preached by him on the 9th February, 1589, maintained the superiority of bishops *jure divino*, and though Lord Burghleigh and Sir F. Knollys objected against it, as interfering with the Queen's supremacy, and the Puritans were unanimously opposed to it, it appears to have been the prevailing doctrine of the Church since that period, and to have been approved and sanctioned by the Convocation of 1606. It received, however, its most complete acknowledgment in the time of Archbishop Laud, and on the publication of Bishop Hall's celebrated treatise, entitled 'Episcopacie by Divine right asserted,'" *Cardwell Doc. Ann. Vol. II. page* 5, *note*. Yet the doctrine of the superiority of bishops by Divine right is distinctly advanced in the Ordinal of Edward VI., in the collect in which of divers orders of ministers in the Church are recognized as having been appointed by the HOLY SPIRIT, which form is used both for bishops and priests, thus recognising them as the orders so appointed, while in the case of deacons it is Divine Providence instead of the HOLY SPIRIT, and the doctrine of the diversity of the two orders pervades the whole of both offices in a way not to be mistaken. These things being so, it was incumbent upon Dr. Cardwell, writing in the nineteenth century, to sustain his opinion, that it was usual in the sixteenth to deny that doctrine, by some authority; which it seems he has not attempted to do.

P. S. It may be as well to remark, that the Act of the 13 Eliz. ch. 12, so often referred to in the above note, is not to be found in the ordinary editions of the English statutes. The reason is, that it is not now the law of England; some of the provisions being temporary, and others superseded by the Act of Uniformity, passed at the Restoration; but it is printed in the full edition of all the statutes, whether in force or not, which was issued a few years ago, by the British government; copies of which were presented to most public libraries in this country.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Since the last page was printed, we have received, from England, the second edition of Mr. Harrington's pamphlet, "The Reformers of the Anglican Church, and Mr. Macauley's History of England." To a note at page 84, we are indebted for the following extract from Strype's "Life of Whitgift;" which bears very directly upon the question we have been examining in this note. It will be seen that Travers, himself, or his advisers, held that the act of 13 Eliz. related, as we have stated, to priests ordained by the Roman Pontifical, and that Whitgift knew of no presbyterially ordained persons who had officiated in the Church of England.

"*Mr. Traver's reasons; that this being made minister at Antwerp should not be sufficient cause of his restraint; or, that he ought to be made minister again; with Archbishop Whitgift's marginal animadversions thereupon.*"—*Travers*: "Making of a minister is such an action, as being once lawfully done, ought not by the Word of God to be repeated. Aaron and the Priests in the old law were but once to be called and consecrated. Proved thus, Heb. v. 4, 'No man taketh this honor to himself, but he that was called to it of God, as was Aaron;' and Levit. viii. 33, 'Ye shall not depart from the door of the tabernacle of the congregation seven days, until the day of the consecration be at an end. For seven days shall he consecrate you.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"*I think this to be true. But Mr. Travers his schoolmasters think and practice otherwise; as Danæus Isagog.* lib. ii. c. 18."

Travers.—"Pastors and teachers of the Church, in the New Testament, have in like manner, by the same word, their calling to their ministry but once given to them; which sufficeth, and is not to be reiterated; as may appear by the speech of the Holy Scripture, in all the rules and examples that concern the vocation. Of which sort are these; —'Appoint elders in every city,' Tit. i. 5; 'Look to yourselves, and al

the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers,' Acts xx. 28; 'Lay hands hastily on no man; neither communicate with other men's faults,' 1 Tim. v. 22; 'Stir up the grace which is in thee, by the laying of my hands,' 1 Tim. iv. 14; 'Neglect not the grace which is in thee; which is given thee to prophesy, by laying on of the hands of the eldership,' 2 Tim. i. 6; 'They ordained them elders in every Church,' Acts xiv. 23."

Whitgift's Animad.—"*These Scriptures prove not his purpose.*"

Travers.—"The reiterating in one dominion of any such action, as being once sufficiently don, ought not for ever to be repeated, (because it is don in the kingdom of another civil prince,) for it taketh from CHRIST his authority, given him of GOD in al places; as it is said, 'I will give thee the ends of the world for thine inheritance,' *Psalm* ii., 'and al nations to be possessed by thee.'"

Whitgift's Animad.—"*And yet the French Churches practice otherwise; neither wil they admit any of our Ministers, ordained according to the laws of this Church, to exercise his function among them, without a new kind of calling according to their platform.*"

Travers.—"The universal and perpetual practice of al Christendom, in al places and in al ages, proveth the Ministers lawfully made in any Church of sound profession in faith, ought to be acknowledged such in any other."

Whitgift's Animad.—"*Excepting always such Churches as allow of* PRESBYTERY, *and practice it.*"

Travers.—"In the primitive Church we read, when Polycarpus came out of the East country, whereof he was, being minister of the Church of Smyrna, to Rome, in the West; that with the good consent, and at the request of Victor, their pastor there, he dealt in the ministry, and administered the LORD's Supper."

Whitgift's Animad.—"*This is true; but Mr. Travers his case is far differing from it. For Polycarpus went not to Rome to be made minister; but being ordained minister, according to the order of the Church wherein he lived, was suffered to execute his function at Rome. But Mr. Travers, misliking the order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere, by such as had no authority to ordaine him, to the contempt of the ministry of this Church, and the manifest maintenance of Schism. And as well may Mr. Cartwright and his adherents now make ministers at Warwick, to serve in this Church of England, as he and Villiers might have done at Antwerp.*"

Travers.—"In this Church of England, many *Scottish* men and other, *made ministers abroad,* have been so acknowledged, (viz. to execute the office of the Priesthood,) and executed their ministry accordingly; and yet do still amongst us."

Whitgift's Animad.—"I KNOW NONE SUCH, *and yet their case is far differing from his.*"

Travers.—"Afore Mr. Whittingham's case, there was never any question moved in this Church to the contrary. The question being moved about him, yet was neither the Word of GOD, nor the law of the land found to be against him. But notwithstanding that exception, he continued in his place and ministry after to his death."

Whitgift's Animad.—"THIS IS UNTRUE. *For if Mr. Whittingham had lived, he had been deprived without special grace and dispensation. Although his case and Mr. Travers' are nothing like. For he in time of persecution was ordained minister by those who had authority in the Church persecuted. But Mr. Travers, in the time of peace, refusing to be made minister at home gaddeth into other countries to be ordained by such as had no authority, condemning thereby the kind of ordering ministers at home.*"

Travers.—"Popish priests, notwithstanding they were made after another order, and that against the Word of GOD, yet to the 13th of the Queen's reign, they were suffered to deal, by virtue of their calling, with duties of the ministry, without any question moved of it—Anno 13th Eliz. When question was made of their calling, the Parliament appointed not that they should be ordered again, according to the form established in the first year of her Majesty's reign; but only that they should subscribe to the articles concerning *Christian doctrine and faith,* agreed on in the Convocation, anno 1562; and so doing, enabled them to al duties and benefits of the ministry."

Whitgift's Animad.—"*When the like act is made for his ministry, then may he allege it. But* THE LAWS OF THIS REALM REQUIRE THAT SUCH AS ARE TO BE ALLOWED AS MINISTERS IN THIS CHURCH OF ENGLAND, SHOULD BE ORDERED BY A BISHOP, *and subscribe to the Articles before him.*"

Travers.—"In the said book of Articles, the doctrin whereof is authorised by the said Parliament, it is thus set down in the 23rd Article: 'It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same.' 'And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this

work by men, who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation to cal and send ministers into the LORD's vineyard.' "

Whitgift's Animad.—" *This doth not justify his calling.*"

Travers.—" *Last of al:* The late Archbishop of Canterbury, being made privy and acquainted with this my calling in the ministry abroad was contented I should preach in England. The Bishop of London was likewise contented I should preach at the Temple, which I have don now almost six years. And the present Archbishop of Canterbury hath taken no exception against me, since his coming to this province, to forbid me preaching in it until this time. Upon consideration of these reasons, I humbly pray to be suffered to procede, as I have don, in my place and ministry again."

Whitgift's Animad.—" *This is to abuse our patience. He never allowed of your kind of calling; neither* CAN HE ALLOW OF IT."—STRYPE's *Life of Whitgift*, vol. iii. pp. 182-6, ed. 1822.

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